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James Lennox.

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FAC-SIMILE OF MRS. HUTCHINSON'S HAND-WRITING;

TAKEN FROM HER THEOLOGICAL REMARKS.

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edification whereby & person

The graces of edification
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to another never all to one

John W. S. O.

THE LIFE
OF
JOHN HUTCHINSON,
OF OWTHORP,

IN THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM, ESQUIRE.

To retorne to Nottingham, after the prince was marcht away out of the country, the enemie without was still designing against the garrison, and the governor's enemies within were still perplexing all his affaires. Upon the eleventh of May, a letter was found by a wench in the night-time, dropt in the shoemaker's booths ; which letter was directed to Sr. Richard Biron, informing him that " the businesse betweene them
" went on with good successe, and that the time
" drawing on, it behoov'd him to be very dilligent,
" and desiring him to burne the letter ;" which was subscrib'd, " Your carefull servant, A. C. ;"

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B

and a postscript written, "Faile nothing by any means, and there shall be no neglect in me." The governor tooke all courses that could be imagin'd to discover this person, but could never find him out. About this time some troopers going by a house, where one Henry Wandall, a debosht mallignant apothecary had liv'd, (but the house was now empty, and he had the key of it;) they perceiv'd a smoke to come out of it, and went in and found some kindled sticks, laid in a potsherd, iust by a rootten post, under the stair-case, with hurds and other combustibile things about it, which it was evident were put there to fire the house, but for what reason, or by whom, was not discover'd.

The governor hearing of some troopes of the enemie in the Vale, had a designe to goe thither and acquainted the committee with it; telling them he would take out all the horse, and himselfe march with the body, and leave a foote companie and thirty horse behind him at the bridges, so as by that time he was marcht by Wiverton, which would give Shelford the alarum, the thirty horse, which were more then Shelford had to send out, should face the house on that side next Nottingham, and the foote should march a private way through the closings, * so that if Shelford horse or foote should

* Closings, closes, fields, vulg. Notts. *closen*.

come forth against those thirty horse, the foote might get betweene them and home, or take any advantage that was offer'd. All this the committee very well approved, and so it was resolv'd to put it in execution the next night after, because it would take some time to provide horses for the musketeers. The governor coming out of the committee, met Capt. White upon the parade in the castle-yard, and acquainted him with the designe, who, with a dejected countenance and a faynt voyce, pretended to approove it, but desired the thirty horse who were to stay some howers behind, might be of his troope; to which the governor assented to gratifie his desire, though he told him, he was very loath to spare any of that troope, who were old souldiers and well acquainted with the country; but he desir'd him the rest might not faile to be ready. The capitaine promis'd they should, and so departed. When the governor had made ready all the horse and dragoones, and was himselfe iust ready to march out with them, being at Coll. Thornhagh's house, White came in; the governor, not doubting of his intention to goe, ask'd him if his troope were ready? He replied, "They were out upon service; thirty," said he, "are gone by your consent, and the rest went to fetch in a mallignant at Ekering; some few odde ones remaine, which you may have

“ if you will.” The governor desir’d him to goe himselfe and assist him, the captaine desir’d to be excus’d, for “ to what purpose should he goe when his troope was not there ?” The governor went from thence to his owne lodgings, and meeting the committee, acquainted them how White had serv’d him, who seem’d to resent it very ill at that time ; and while they were discoursing of it White’s officer came up with warrants to be sign’d for hay for the quarters, which being offer’d the governor, he tore, and sayd he would signe no warrants for such a disorderly troope, as would doe no service but what they list, whose officers knew neither how to give nor obey commands.

Notwithstanding this discouragement, to want eighty of his best men, the governor went out with the rest, and when he had drawne them into the Trent Lanes, one of his spies came in with intelligence that at a towne in the Vale, call’d Sierston, and another next it, call’d Elston, there was two hundred horse quarter’d, who being come in weary and secure, might easily be surpriz’d that night. The governor, calling the captaines together, imparted the intelligence, and they were all forward to goe on in the designe, except Captaine Pendock, who perswaded much against it ; but while they were discoursing another intelligencer came in, to second the former, whereupon the governor told the

captaines, that if they would goe, he was resolv'd to do something that night, and because Captaine Pendock was best acquainted with that side of the country, he appoynted him to lead on the forlorne hope, which accordingly he did, but with such sloth and muttering, that in two or three miles riding, the governor was forc'd to send up some officers to him, to hasten him on; neither was this from cowardize, but only humour and faction, for the man was stout enough when he had a mind to it, but now he rid allong, muttering that it was to no purpose, and when he came to Saxondale Gorse, purposely lost himselfe and his forlorne hope; which the governor missing, was much troubled, fearing that by some misadventure they might have bene enclos'd and cutt of betweene the enemie's garrisons; but when they came to Saxondale Lane, Pendock and his forlorne hope were found safe in the reare of the body. The governor, perceiving Pendock's backwardnesse, had sent out some parties, one troope under Captaine-Lieutenant Palmer, and another partie with Cornett Peirson, to some neere townes, to execute some of the committee's warrants, in fetching in delinquents, when the cornett came back with an alarum that two or three hundred horse were quarter'd at Elston and Sierston, which he must either fight with or retreate. Captaine Pendock was againe wonderfull unwilling to goe on, and

say'd it would be day before they should come there; but the governor bade those that would, follow him, for he would goe, and accordingly he went; and when he came to the towne, drew up his men at the towne's end in a body, from which he sent in some parties, to fall into the towne, himselfe staying with the body betweene them and Newark, to defend them from any of the enemies that might have come upon them :* so they brought out two captaine-lieutenants, some cornetts, and other gentlemen of quallity, thirty troopers, and many more horses and armes; Captaine Thimbleby absolutely refusing quarter, was kill'd. The governor sent into the towne to command all his men immediately away; but a lieutenant and cornett making not hast to obey, while they stay'd for some drinke, were surpriz'd by a party that came from Newark, before the corporall the governor had sent to fetch them of, was well out of the towne; but with those he had taken, and all the booty, and many horses and beasts fetcht from malignants in the enemy's quarters, the governor came safe home, to the greate discontent of Captaine White, who

• Whoever looks upon the map, and observes the vicinity of these places to Newark, and their great distance from Nottingham, will see it to have been a service of great delicacy and danger. It is mentioned cursorily by Whitelocke, page 89; had Sir John Gell been the commander, we should have had it better displayed.

was something out of countenance at it. This may serve, instead of many more, to shew how hard a task he had to carrie on the service, with such refractory mallitious persons under him.

About this time it hapened, that the engineer being by, Captaine Pendock tooke occasion to raile at the towne-workes, and Hooper making answers, which drew on replies, Pendock strooke him, whereupon the man angrie lay'd his hand upon his sword and halfe drew it out, but thrust it in again ; the maid ran affrighted into the kitchen, where was one Henry Wandall, who presently call'd some musketeers, disarm'd Mr. Hooper, and sent him prisoner to the governor ; who asking him upon what account he came so, he told him he had no reason to accuse himselfe ; if those that sent him had anie-thing against him, he was readie to answer it. After the governor had expected 'till about midnight and nothing came, he sent for Wandall, and enquiring why and by whose authority he committed Mr. Hooper prisoner ? He answered, " for drawing his sword, he, as an officer of the " garrison, had sent him up." The governor asked who made him an officer ? and taking it upon him, why he did not send up both parties, but only one in a quarrell ? and he being able to give no answer, but such as shew'd it was done out of mallice, the governor committed him for his inso-

lency, who being but a common souldier, presum'd to make an officer prisoner, without rendering an account to the governor, and lett the other engag'd in the quarrell go free. The next day after this, Plumtre came to the Trent bridges, where being stopt, he sent up a passe which he had procur'd him from my lord generall, to come and stay in the towne during his owne pleasure ; which when the governor saw, he sent him word, that in regard of my lord generall's passe he might stay at his owne house, but bade him take heed, as he would answer it, that he meddled not to make any mutinie or commotion in the garrison : to which he sent an insolent replie, that he was glad the governor was taught manners ; he was come to towne for some businesse, and when he had occasion he would repaire to the committee. The committee hearing this, were very sensible of his insolent carriage, and drew up articles against him, which were sign'd with six of their hands, and sent up to Mr. Millington to be preferr'd against him, in the house of parliament, and to be shew'd to my lord generall, as the lieftenant-collonell should see occasion, whom the governor sent immediately to the generall, to acquaint him the reason why Dr. Plumtre had bene forc'd to procure his passe for his protection. The governor tooke this occasion to send to the generall about his cannoneers, whom some dayes before he had bene forc'd to confine as

prisoners to their chamber 'till the generall's pleasure could be known concerning them, for at the instigation of Captaine Palmer, all the ministers in towne, and, to make the crie the louder, certeine loose mallignant priests, which they had gotten to ioyn with them, had most violently urg'd, in a petition to the committee, that these men might be turn'd out of the towne for being separatists; so that the governor was forc'd, against his will, to confine them, to prevent mutiny, though they were otherwise honest, obedient, and peacefull. After the lieftenant-collonell was gone, with letters concerning these matters, to the generall, Plumtre behav'd himsef most insolently and mutinously, and he and Mason entering into confederacy, had contriv'd some articles against the governor, for committing Wandall; but when they tried and found they could do no good with them, Mason came to the governor and was most sawcily importunate for his release, which, by reason of the insolent manner of seeking it, the governor would not grant.

The generall, upon the governor's letters, sent down a letter to Plumtre, to discharge him the garrison, and another to the governor to release the cannoneers; which he accordingly did, to the satisfaction of his owne conscience, which was not satisfied in keeping men prisoners for

their consciences, so long as they liv'd honestly and inoffensively; but it caus'd a greate mutinie in the priests against him, and they blew up as many of their people as they could, to ioyne in faction against the governor, not caring now what men they enter'd into confederacy with, nor how disaffected to the cause, so they were but bitter enough against the separatists; which the cunning malignants perceiving, they now all became zealotts, and laught in secrett, to see how they wrought these men to ruine their owne cause and champions.

Plumtre not taking notice of the generall's letters, the governor sent him word he expected he should obey them and depart: Plumtre replied, his business was done, and he would go: but in spight of his teeth he would have a guard. The lieftenant-collonell would have put in the articles into the parliament, which the committee had sent up against Plumtre; but Mr. Millington pretending all kindnesse and service to the governor, would needs undertake it, and desired the lieftenant-collonell to trouble none of the governor's friends, in any business he had to doe, but to leave it in his hands, who would employ all his powers, and serve him with all vigilance and faithfullnesse, against all persons whatsoever; and whereas he heard the governor had some thoughts of coming to London, he wisht him not to trouble himselfe, but to charge him with

anything he had to do. Notwithstanding all this, the governor went to London, having some occasions thither. A little before his going, he and the rest of the committee had requir'd Mr. Salisbury, their treasurer, to give in his accounts, which he either unwilling or unable to do, bent his utmost endeavours to raise a high mutiny and faction against the governor, and Capt. White was never backward in any mischief; these, with Plumtre and Mason, made a close confederacy, and call'd home Chadwick to their assistance, having engag'd the persecuting priests and all their idolaters, upon an insinuation of the governor's favour to separatists. During Colonel Thornhagh's sickness, the governor undertook the command of his horse regiment, while it quarter'd in the garrison, and made the men live orderly, and march out upon designs more frequently than they us'd to do when their colonel was well, upon whose easiness they prevail'd to do what they list, and some of them, who were great plunderers, were conniv'd at, which the governor would by no means suffer: wherefore these men were, by the insinuations of their officers and the wicked part of the committee, drawn into the faction, which was working in secret a while, and at last broke into open prosecutions. They had determin'd that as soon as the governor was gone, White, the devil's exquisite solicitor, should also follow to

London, but knew not how to doe for a pretence to send him upon the publick purse; when wickednesse, which never wants long the opportunity it waits for, found one soone out, for the committee of both kingdomes had sent a command for all the horse in Nottingham, to repair to Sr. John Meldrum in Lancashire; the towne was put upon a hasty petition that their horse might not goe, and Capt. White must carrie it, who pretends to have knowne nothing of it halfe an hower before, yet he was ready; and Dr. Plumtre too prepar'd to make good his brags, and goe with his convoy. Presently after he was gone, the engine of mischief comes to towne, Coll. Chadwick, whom Mr. Salisbury receives with great ioy and exultance, boasting, to use his owne words, that they should now mump the governor. At the maior of the town's house, he was entertain'd with much wine, whereof Mr. Ayscough, a committee man, having taken a pretty large proportion, coming that night to supper to the castle, told the lieftenant-collonell and the governor's wife, that he would advise them to acquaint the governor there was mischief hatching against him, and that Chadwick was come to towne, on purpose to effect it, which though the fellow discover'd in his drinke, was true enough, and he himselfe was one of the conspiring wicked ones.

To fortifie their partie, in all hast, they endea-

vour'd to rayse a new troope of dragoons, under one Will Hall, a debosht mallignant fellow, and thereupon one of the governor's mortall enemies; but some of the honester townsmen perceiving the designe, and not yet being seduc'd, would not rayse him any horse, so at that season the troope was not rays'd.

And now Captaine White came home, when it was observ'd that after his returne, he would not allow the governor that name, but only call'd him Coll. Hutchinson, and when any one elce term'd him governor, would decline the acknowledgment of that name: then caiolling his fellow horse officers and the troopers, they through his insinuations, everywhere began to detract from the governor, and to magnifie Capt. White, and not only to derogate from the governor, but from all persons that were affected to him. Now was there a petition drawne up to be presented to the committee of both kingdoms, desiring that Mr. Millington might be sent downe to compose the differences which were in the garrison. The lieftenant-collonell, and some others, refusing to signe it, Capt. White told them it was a pretence, which Mr. Millington desir'd the favour of them, that they would make to obtaine leave for him to come downe and visitt his wife and children, whom he had a longing desire to see, and knew not any other way to bring it about. The gentlemen to gratify Mr. Millington sign'd it, and he

himselfe at London, with the same pretext, obtain'd the governor's hand to it, while the governor, deceiv'd by his high and faire professions of service and kindnesse to him, never entertain'd any suspition of his integrity; and this was the greatest of the governor's defects, through the candidnesse and sincerity of his owne nature, he was more unsuspitious of others, and more credulous of faire pretenders, then suited with so greate a prudence, as he testified in all things elce. Nothing awak'ned iealousie in him but grosse flattery, which, when he saw any one so servile as to make, he believ'd the soule that could descend to that basenesse, might be capable of falsehood: but those who were cunning, attempted him not that way, but put on a face of faire, honest, plaine friendship, with which he was a few times, but not often in his life, betrey'd. At Mr. Millington's entreaty the governor releas'd Wandall, but would have prosecuted the committee's petition against Plumtre, which Mr. Millington most earnestly perswaded him not to doe, but desir'd that he would permitt him to come and live quietly in his owne house, upon engagement, that he should not rayse nor foment any mutiny nor faction in the garrison, or intermeddle with any of the affaires thereof. The governor was easily wrought to assent to this alsoe, but Plumtre refus'd to enter into such an engagement to quiet behaviour, and so, for that time,

came not to Towne. There was againe a new designe against the garrison by the enemie discover'd, and a spie taken, who own'd a souldier in the maior's companie that had listed himself on purpose to effect this mischiefe; but through carelesse custody, the spie escap'd that day that the garrison were celebrating their ioy for the greate victory at Yorke. Meanwhile the governor supposing Mr. Millington, as he profess'd himselfe, highly his friend and his protector, complain'd to him of the mutinous carriage of the horse, and his disturbance and discouragement in the publick service thereby, and desir'd him to get a resolution in the thing, whereby his power and their duty might be defin'd, that he might know wherein he was to command them in his garrison, and they to obey him. Mr. Millington advis'd him to write a letter to him concerning this, setting downe his owne apprehensions, what he was to exact from them, and they to render him; which accordingly the governor did, and left it with Millington, and return'd to his garrison. Mr. Millington told him, that he had shew'd the letter to the committee of both kingdomes, who had given their opinion of it, that he requir'd no more of them then he ought to have. Soone after the governor Mr. Millington came downe to Nottingham, with instructions from the committee of both kingdomes, to heare and, if he could, compose the

differences at Nottingham ; if not, to report them to the committee of both kingdoms. Mr. Millington, coming downe with these, brought Plumtre as far as Leicester with him, and begg'd of the governor to permit him to returne to his house, engaging himselfe that he should not meddle with anything belonging to the garrison, nor come neere the castle, nor any of the forts: which engagement the governor receiv'd, and suffer'd the man to come home ; and Millington, least the governor should suspect his greate concerne in Dr. Plumtre, made strong professions to him, that he desir'd his re-admission into the towne for nothing but to be a snare to him : for he knew the turbulency and pride of his spiritt such, that he would never be quiet ; but if, after this indulgence, he should, as he believed he would, returne to his former courses, he would be inexcusable in the eies of all men. Then Mr. Millington desir'd the governor to draw up some heads, wherein he conceiv'd his power to consist, which he did, reducing almost all the words of his commission into eight propositions, which when he shew'd first to Mr. Millington, before the committee saw them, Mr. Millington seem'd very well to approve of them, and protested againe to the governor, the faithfullnesse of his heart to him, excusing his intimacy with his enemies, upon a zeale he had to doe him service, by discovering their designs against him,

and call'd himselfe therein, Sr. Pollitick Wouldbe: but the governor disliking this double dealing, though it had bene with his enemies, desir'd him rather to declare himselfe ingenuously as his conscience led him, though it should be against him, and told him freely he liked not this faire carriage to both. When the governor put in his propositions to the committee, they desir'd each of them might have a copy of them, and all a weeke's time to consider them; at the end of which, when the governor prest their answer, whether they assented to them, or could obiect aniething against them? they, with false flattering apologies to the governor, that if such command were due to any man, they should rather the governor should employ it, then any person whatsoever, by reason of his unquestion'd merits; but they conceiv'd that such a power given to a governor, would not consist with that which belong'd to a committee, whereupon they produc'd a tedious, impertinent paper, in answer to the governor's propositions; which, when the governor read over, he flung by, saying it was a ridiculous senseless piece of stuffe: some of them taking exceptions, he should so contemne the committee's paper; he replied, he knew not yet whose it was, not being sign'd by any one, if any of them would owne it he desired them to subscribe it, and then he should know what

to say. Thereupon the next day, it was againe brought out, signed by Mr. Millington, Chadwick, Salisbury, White, and the maior of the towne. The summe of the paper not containing any exceptions against the governor himselfe, but against his power, and wholly denying that my Lord Fairfax had power to make a governor, or conferre any such power on him, as his commission imported; the governor told them, it no farther concern'd him, but only to acquaint my Lord Fairfax, with whom he should leave it, to iustifie his owne commission, and his authority to give one; but forasmuch as my Lord was concern'd in it, the gentlemen who had more respect for him disown'd it, and these were the governor, the lieftenant-collonell, Mr. Pigott, Coll. Thornhagh, Maior Ireton, Maior Widmerpoole, Capt. Lomax, and Alderman James. Then the governor told them, how he had bene inform'd that this paper was of Chadwick's contrivance, and that when Mr. Millington saw it, he hugg'd Chadwick in his armes, with such congratulation, as is not to be imagin'd they could give, to a fellow, of whom they had iustly entertain'd so vile an opinion, and then before his face declar'd all their thoughts of indignation and contempt, which they had formerly exprest of Coll. Chadwick, whom he ask'd, with what face he could question my lord's authority, to make him governor, when he had formerly us'd such surreptitious

cheates to obtaine it, for himselfe, by the same authority? and he askt the committee, how it came to passe, they now believ'd my Lord Fairfax had not authority to make him governor, when they themselves at first writt to him for the commission? and to Mr. Millington he said, he had dealt very unfaithfully to those that entrusted him to compose differences, which he had rather made then found; and very treacherously with him, making himselfe a party and the chiefe of his adversaries, when he pretended only to be a reconciler. Having at full layd them open one to another, and declar'd all their treachery, mallice, pride, and knavery, to their faces, he went away, smiling, at the confusion he had left them in; who had not vertue enough in their shame, to bring them back to repentance, but having begun to persecute him, with their spite and mallice, were resolv'd to carrie on their wicked designe, wherein they had now a double encouragement to animate them, Mr. Mellington's sheltering them in the parliament house, and obstructing all redresse the governor should there seeke for, and the hopes of profitt and advantage they might upon the change of things expect by the garrison, if they could wrest it out of the governor's hands, either by wearying him with uniuert vexations, or by watching some advantage against him, to procure the discharge of his office by the parliament; for they, knowing him to be impatient

of affronts, and of a high spirit, thought to provoke him to passion, wherein something might fall out to give them advantages; but he perceiving their drift, shew'd them that he govern'd his anger, and suffer'd it not to master him, and that he could make use of it to curb their insolency, and yet avoid all excursions that might prejudice himself.* When the governor undertooke this employment, the parliament's interest in those parts was so low, and the hazard so desperate, that these pitefull wretches, as well as the other faithfull hearted to the publique cause, courted him to accept and keepe the place, and though their fowle spirits hated the daylight of his more vertuous conversation, yet were they willing enough to let him beare the brunt of all the hazard and toyle of their defence, willing to be secur'd by his indefatigable industry and courage, then to render him the iust acknowledgment of his good deserts. This ingratitude did not at all abate his zeale for the publick service, for as he sought not prayse, so he was well

* To some the recital of these municipal broils may appear rather tedious, but Whitelock's Memorials shew that these, and such like, in various parts of the kingdom, required the serious and frequent attention of the parliament. Most readers will pity a man of Col. Hutchinson's exalted mind for being compelled to cope with such despicable adversaries, but they will derive some pleasure from observing the address with which he foiled their insidious attacks.

enough satisfied in doing well ; yet through their envious eyes, they tooke in a generall good esteeme of him, and sin'd against their owne consciences in persecuting him, whereof he had after acknowledgments and testimonies from many of them. All the while of this contest, he was borne up by a good and honourable party of the committee, and greater in number and vallue then the wicked ones, whom Mr. Millington's power in the house only countenanc'd and animated to persue their mischiefes. What it was that drew Mr. Millington into their confederacy was afterwards apparent; they hir'd him with a subscription of losses, for which they gave him publick faith double to what he really had lost;* and they offer'd him a share of the governor's spoyles, if he would helpe them to make him a prey, which would have bene good booty to his meane family; for although the governor had hitherto gott nothing but desperate hazard and vast expence, yet now this garrison began to be in a more hopefull condition, by the late succeſse in the north. After Yorke was taken, the Earle of Manchester marcht into our parts, upon

* Of this custom of applying to the parliament for reparation or compensation, and of its being granted generally at the expence of delinquents or cavaliers, there appear many instances in Whitelock—no doubt many abuses crept in. In Walker's Hist. of Independ. p. 81, Mr. Millington is declared to have received in this manner 2000*l*.

whose coming Bolsover and Tickhill castles were deliver'd up to him, and Welbeck, the Earle of Newcastle's house, which was given into Coll. Thornhagh's command, and much of the enemy's wealth, by that means, brought into Nottingham: Winkfield manour, a strong garrison in Derbyshire, was taken upon composition, and by this meanes, a rich and large side of the country, was layd open to helpe maintaine the garrison at Nottingham, and more hoped for by these gentlemen, who were now as greedy to catch at the rewards of another's labours, as unable to meritt aniething themselves: but when the hopes of the harvest of the whole country, had tempted them to begin their wicked plotts, God seeming angrie at their ill use of mercy, caus'd the Earle of Manchester to be call'd back into the south, when he was going to have besieg'd Newark, and so that towne, with the pettie garrisons at Wiverton, Shelford, and Belvoyr, were still left for further exercise to Nottingham. Yet the hopes these would in time be gained, made these gentlemen prosecute their designe against the governor, whose partie they endeavour'd with all subtilities to weaken; and first attempted Coll. Thornhagh, who having by his signaliz'd vallour arriv'd to a greate reputation, they thought if they could gaine him, he would be their best leaver, to heave out the governor, and that prop once remoov'd they despair'd not to make him

contribute to his owne ruine; for they had discover'd in him a facillity of nature, apt to be deluded by faire pretences, and more prone to suspect the kind plaine-dealing of his friends, then the flattery of his enemies: but the governor, after they had display'd themselves, by his vigilancy, prevented many of their mallitious designes, and among the rest that they had upon this gentleman. During his sicknesse the governor tooke care of his regiment, and employ'd the troopes that quarter'd in the garrison: but through the wicked instigations of Captaine White, being very refractory, and the regiment often call'd out on field service, the governor sent for a commission, and rays'd a troope of horse, which the lieftenant-collonell commanded, and a troope of dragoones for the peculiar service of the garrison. These cunning sowers of sedition wrought, upon this occasion, Coll. Thornhagh into a iealous beliefe, that Coll. Hutchinson was taking the advantage of his sicknesse, to worke himselfe into his command. Coll. Thornhagh was griev'd at it, but sayd nothing; but the governor discovering the thing, notwithstanding his silence, when the lieftenant-collonell went to London, procur'd a commission for Coll. Thornhagh to be, next under Sr. Thomas Fairfax, commander in chiefe of all the parliament's horse in Nottinghamshire, at all times, which being brought to Coll. Thornhagh, when he knew

nothing of it, clear'd him of that suspicion. And, now, although they were more inclin'd to delude then openly to oppose Coll. Thornhagh, yet they having no exceptions against the governor in his owne person, but against his authority, they were forc'd to deny Coll. Thornhagh's command as well as the governor's, they being both deriv'd from the same power. The horse captaines, who were allur'd by faire colours of preferment, and indulg'd in their plunder, which they hop'd to doe with more freedom, if Capt. White prevail'd, were more obedient to Capt. White and their owne ambition, then to their collonell or the lawes and customs of warre. The committee hoped, by thus disputing the collonell's powers, under a face of parliament authority, to weary them out, and make them cast up their commissions, when they had, by Mr. Millington, blockt up the way of their complaint, so that they fear'd not being turn'd out of the committee, for the abuse of that trust: and perhaps they had succeeded, but that the governor scorn'd to give up a good cause, either particular or publick, for want of courage to defend it among many difficulties; and then, although he had many enemies, he had more friends, whom if he should desert, they would be left to be crusht by these mallitious persons; and more then all this, the country would be abandon'd into the hands of persons, who would only make

a prey of it, and not endeavour its protection, liberty, or reall advantage, which had bene his chiefe ayme in all his undertakings.

The conspirators, as I may more iustly terme them, then the committee, had sent Capt. White to Yorke, to my Lord Fairfax, and to get the governor's power defin'd, which he understanding, the next day went thither himselfe, and Mr. Pigott, who from the beginning to the ending shew'd himselfe a most reall and generous friend to the governor, and as cordiall to his country and the greate cause, went allong with him, arriving a day after Capt. White. When my lord gave them a hearing together, he asked whether the governor had done aniething of consequence without consulting the committee, which White could not say he had; then he ask'd White if he had any other misgovernment to accuse him of, which when White could not alledge against him, the governor before his face told my lord all the businesse, whereupon White was dismissed with reproofe and laughter, and letters were written to the committee, to iustifie the governor's power, and to entreate them to forbear disturbing him in his command; and to Mr. Millington, to desire him to come over to Yorke to my lord; both which the governor deliver'd, but Mr. Millington would not goe over, but, on the contrary, continued to foment and rayse up the factions in the towne against

the governor, and by his countenance the committee every day meditated and practis'd new provocations to stirre up the governor to rage, or at least to weary him in his employment. The horse, without his knowledge, they frequently sent abroad; protections, ticketts, and passes, they gave out; and, encroaching upon his office in all things whatsoever, wrought such a confusion in the garrison, that, while all men were distracted and amaz'd, in doubt whose orders to obey, and who were their commanders, they obey'd none, but every man did what he listed; and by that meanes the publick service was in all things obstructed and preiudic'd. The governor, while the iniury was only to himselfe, bore it, but when it extended almost to the destruction of the garrison, he was forc'd to endeavour a remedy. For about this time it hap'ned that Salisbury, being treasurer, had given base termes and wilful delayes to the souldiers who were assign'd their pay, when the mony was ready for them in the treasury; and when this base carriage of his had provok'd them to a mutinie, the governor was sent for to appease it, which he did; but comming to the committee, told them he would no longer endure this usage of theirs, to have all things of power, honor, and command, wrested out of his hands, and all things of difficulty and danger put upon him; while they purposely stir'd up occasions

of rigor and punishment, and then expected he should be the executioner of it, by which he perceiv'd they did these things only with designe to render him contemptible and odious to all persons. Not long after a command came for all the horse that could be spar'd in the garrison to goe to Sr. John Meldrum, to the reliefe of Montgomery-castle. The governor went to the committee to consult what troopes should march, and they voted *none*. The governor told them, he conceiv'd when a command was given, they were to obey without dispute, and that he came to advise with them what troopes should be sent forth, not whether any or noe; therefore, although they voted disobedience of the command, that would not discharge him, especially the service being of greate consequence, and the troopes lying here without other employment: wherefore at night he summoned a councill of warre, and there almost all the captaines, having no mind to march so farre from home, declar'd they conceiv'd themselves to be under the command of the committee, and would only obey their orders. Upon this the governor went to the committee and desir'd them that, in regard unanswerable things were done, the publick service neglected, and all the transactions of the garrison confused, they would unite with him in a petition to the parliament, to define their severall powers; and in the meane time

either quietly to let him execute his duty, or elce to take all upon them and discharge him. They presently made a motion, that he would call a muster, and put it to all the souldiers, whether they would be govern'd by the committee or the governor. The governor told them his command was not elective, but of right belonged to him, and this way was only the next occasion to cause a mutiny, which he could not consent to. But they persisting in their course, he came againe to them and desir'd they would at length surcease these affronts in his command, and their underminings, whereby they endeavour'd to alienate men's hearts from him, and to rayse faction against him by close unworthy practises: so after much debate it was on all hands agreed, that they should not at all intermiddle with aniething belonging to the souldiery, nor interrupt the governor in his command, till the house of parliament should decide it, and that the governor and Capt. White should both goe to London, to procure a speedy determination of the powers in a faire and open way. This they all faithfully promis'd the governor, and made many hipocriticall professions to him, some of them with tears; whereupon he, who was of the most reconcileable nature in the world, accepted their faire pretences, and went to drinke friendly with them in token of kinnesse. Yet was all this but hipocrisie and false-

hood, for even at that very time they wearied many of the governor's officers out of the garrison by the continued mallice wherewith they persecuted all that had any respect for him. Among these was Mr. Hooper the engineer, a man very faithfull to the cause and very honest, but withall rough, who having to doe with hatefull businesses, was made odious to the common people, the priests too having a particular spite at him, as one they esteemed a leader of the separatists; yet he was very ingenious and industrious in his office, and most faithfull as well to the governor himselve as to the publick service. The committee, to insinuate themselves with the common people, regarded him with an evil eie, and so discourag'd him, that being offer'd much better preferment, and invited by Coll. Cromwell into other parts, he acquainted the governor with it, offering withall that, if he might yet be protected from affronts in his employment, he would stay and serve the governor for halfe the salary offer'd elce-where. But the governor, although he were very sorry to part with him, and the service would much misse him, yet being so much in-iur'd himselve, could not undertake the protection of any of his officers, and therefore would not hinder his preferment, but suffer'd him to goe to Cromwell. Such was the envie of the committee to him, that iust as he was going, that very day, they not willing to let him depart in

peace, although they knew he had iustly expended all the mony he had receiv'd of them, yet they call'd for an account from the beginning of his employment, which they had often seene in parcells, but believing he could not so readily give it them altogether, they then demanded it. He immediately brought it forth, and gott by it twelve shillings due to him upon the foote thereof, which he intended not to have ask'd them, but receiving it upon the exhibition of his account, went away smiling at their mallice; which yett would not let him go so, for then Henry Wandall came with a petition to the governor, that he would vindicate the honour of the Earle of Essex against Mr. Hooper, whom he accus'd to have spoken words against him, and done actions to his dishonor. The governor knowing this was but mallice, accepted security for him, which was offer'd by Mr. Pigott and Maior Watson, that he should answer what could be objected against him at any councill of warre he should be call'd to. *

* This Mr. Hooper was undoubtedly a person of singular abilities. Mr. Sprigge, in his *Anglia Rediviva*, mentions him as serving Sir Thomas Fairfax at the siege of Oxford and other places as engineer extraordinary, and greatly expediting all his enterprizes, the rapidity and number of which were surprizing: he was at the siege of Ragland-castle, the last garrison that surrendered; he came again to Nottingham during Col. Hutchinson's government, and, by the list of the garrison in Deering's Nottingham, appears to have continued with Capt. Poulton.

Wednesday, Sept. the 25, 1644, Capt. White went to London to sollicite the committee's businesse against the governor, for they were intended to putt it upon a faire debate, as was promis'd. The next day the governor commanded Capt. Barratt's troope to convoy him towards London, but iust as he was going to horse, the committee, contrary to their engagements, not to meddle with any millitary affaires, commanded them another way, and soe he was forc'd to goe without a convoy, although the captaine was afforded a whole troope to waite on him.

Two or three days before the governor went, Chadwick came privately to the governor's brother and told him, that his conscience would not suffer him to conceale the mallitious designes, and that treachery, which he now discover'd to be in these men's oppositions of the governor, and, with many insinuations, told him they were framing articles against the governor, whereof he gave him a copie, which the governor carried to London with him, and shew'd the lieftenant-collonell the originalls in Mason's and Plumptre's owne hand writings. Three days after the governor, Coll. Thornhagh went to London. That day the governor went, one of the Presbyterian ministers, whose name was Goodal, præcht the lecture at the greate church, with many invectives against governors and arbitrary power, so

planely hinting at the governor that all the church well understood it; but for the committee he gloz'd with them, and told them he had nothing to say to them, but to goe on in the good way they went. Some months after, this poore man preaching at a living the committee had put him into, was taken by the enemie, and much deieted at it, because he could not hope the governor would exchange him, after his unworthy pulpitt raylings at him; but the governor, who hated poore revenges, when his enemie and one of his friends were both in the same prison, and he had but one exchange readie, first procur'd the minister's release, and let his owne officer stay for the next exchange. Whereupon the man comming home, was struck with remorse, and beg'd the governor's pardon, with reall acknowledgments both to himselfe and others of his sin, in supporting faction against the governor; who was told that on his deathbed, for he died before the garrison was dissolv'd, he exprest to some of the governor's friends his trouble for having been his enemie. But not only to him, but to many others of his enemies, the governor upon sundry occasions, when they fell into his power to have requited their mischiefes, instead of vengeance render'd them benefitts, so that at last his own friends would tell him, if they could in iustice and conscience forsake him, they would become his adversaries,

for that was the next way to engage him to obligations; but although his friends, who had greater animosities against his uniuſt persecutors than he himſelfe, would ſay theſe things in anger at his clemency, his nature was as full of kind gratitude to his friends as free from baſe reuenges upon enemies, who either fell downe to him by their owne iuſt remorse, or were caſt under his power by God's iuſt providence.

Asſoone as the governor was gone, the committee tooke all power upon them, and had the impudence to command the lieftenant-collonell, who was deputy-governor, and abſolute in his brother's abſence, to draw out his troope: he went to them and told them he was ſorrie they broke their agreement, but he could not breake his truſt of his brother's authority to obey them. Then they feign'd a pretence and turn'd out the governor's quarter-maſter, who by the governor's appoyntment had quarter'd ſouldiers at an ale-houſe Mr. Millington had given a protection to, that they ſhould quarter none, upon the account of ſome relation they had to him, who married one of the daughters of the place. This occaſioning ſome diſpute, Cooke the quarter-maſter had utter'd ſome words, for which they ſent for him and caſt out greate threates, how they would puniſh him, which frighted his wife, big with child, in that manner that her child died within her, and her owne life was in greate

hazard. The committee then call'd a hall, and caus'd the townsmen to bring in horses for dra-goones, whereof they voted a regiment to be rays'd. Chadwick to be the collonell, and Hall and Selby to be captaines under him. They tooke upon them to command the souldiers, and made horrible confusion, by which they often put the garrison in greate danger, if the enemie had known their advantage. Among the rest, one night after the guards were sett, the captaine of the guard, missing the deputy-governor to receive the word from him, gave them the same word they had before, till he had found out the governor to receive a new one. Mr. Millington comming by, halfe flustered, would have had the captaine take a word from him, which when the captaine refused, he being angrie, commanded Captaine Mason's drums to beate, and sett a double guard. The lieftenant-collonell hearing the drums, and having no notice of this command, sent to Mason to command him to forbear drawing any men to the guard, but Mason would not obey him. Besides this, they did a thousand such like things, to provoke him to give them some colour of complaint, or some advantage against him and his brother, for the carrying on of a wicked designe, which they were secretly managing to destroy them; but God, by a wonderful providence, brought it to light.

Their conspiracy was to accuse the collonell and his brother as persons that had betrey'd the towne and castle, and were ready to surrender them to the enemie, which they would pretend to have discover'd, and to have prevented their treachery, by a surprize of the lieftenant-collonell, the castle and the bridges, and all the officers that were faithfull to the governor and his friends. Because they had not force in towne who would act this villainy, they sent to Sr. John Gell, in whom they had a greate interest, and a man likely enough to promote their wickednesse, had they even acquainted him with it, as black as it was in the cursed forge of their own hearts; but to carrie their businesse closely, they sent to tell him they had cause of suspition that the lieftenant-collonell was false to his trust, and would deliver the castle to the enemie, to prevent which they desir'd him to assist them with some men and ammunitiion; which ammunitiion was very secretly convey'd into the towne, and the men were ready to march, and quarters taken up for them in Nottingham. The lieftenant-collonell dreamt nothing of the mischief that was hatching against him, when, iust at the very time of the execution, there came into Nottingham two gentlemen, whom the parliament employ'd to carrie intelligences betweene the north and the south, and who us'd to meete at this towne.

Mr. Fleetwood, who came from the south, came immediately up to the castle, and there was familiarly and kindly treated, as he used to be, by the lieutenant-collonell. This was upon a Saturday night, in the month of October. Mr. Marsh, his correspondent, that came from the north, passing through Derby, was caution'd so by Sr. John Gell, that he durst not come up to the castle, but on the Lord's day sent for Mr. Fleetwood to meete him in the towne, who coming to him, he told him what information he had receiv'd from Sr. John Gell, and for that reason durst not trust himselfe in the castle. Mr. Fleetwood undertaking for his safety, brought him up to the lieutenant-collonell, and he finding the untruth of their forgeries, told the lieutenant-collonell all the machinations against him; where-upon, on the Monday morning, he went away to London, and sent Mr. Millington word that having understood the suspition they had of him, he was gone to London, where, if they had anie-thing to accuse him of, they might send after him, and he should be ready to answer it, and in his absence had left Capt. Lomax governor of the garrison. The committee, very much confounded that their wickednesse was come to light, resolv'd to outface the thing, and denied that they had sent to Derby for any men. They sayd indeed it was true, that having formerly lent Sr. John Gell some powder, they had sent

for that back; but this was not all, for they had alsoe perswaded the master of the magazine that was in the castle to convey, unknowne to the lieftenant-collonell, two barrels of powder, with match and bullett suitable, to such place as Chadwick should direct. This he, not dreaming of their evil intention, had condescended to, and sent them to Salisburie's house, but assoone as the lieftenant-collonell was gone they tooke what care they could to shuffle up this businesse, and presently dispatcht Capt. Palmer to London and Lieft. Chadwick to Derby, where he so wrought with Sr. John Gell, that he brought back a counterfeit letter, pretended to have bene all that was sent from the committee of Nottingham to him, and another of Sr. John Gell's writing, wherein he disown'd all that Mr. Marsh had related of his information; but God, who would not let them be hid, had so order'd that while matters were thus huddling up at Derby, Sr. John Gell's brother came by chance to Nottingham, and affirm'd that the committee of Nottingham had sent to his brother for three hundred men, to surprize Nottingham Castle, which when the committee heard, they sent Capt. Pendock after him the next day to charme him, that he might no more discover the truth in that particular. Alsoe that very day that these intentions of theirs were thus providentially brought to light, one of Sr. John Gell's captaines was

knowne to be in towne, whom Sr. John had sent to discover the state of things, and the new quarter-master had bene all that day taking billett for souldiers in severall houses in the towne.

When the governor came to London, the committee of both kingdomes had appoynted a sub-committee to heare his businesse, whereof young Sr. Henry Vane had the chaire, Mr. William Pierrepont, Mr. Sollicitor St. John, Mr. Recorder, and two of the Scotch commissioners, were nominated for the committee; before whom the governor's propositions and the committee's answers had bene read, and when their sollicitor, Captaine White, saw they were likely to be cast out as frivolous, he produc'd some articles, which they had formed against the governor, lieutenant-collonell, and Mr. Pigott, but they proov'd as frivolous as the other, and the gentlemen answer'd them see clearly that they appear'd to be forg'd out of mallice and envy, only to cause delayes, there being scarce anie-thing of moment in them, if they had bene true, whereas they were all false: and now after they had trod downe the fence of shame, and impudently began with articles, there was not the least ridiculous impertinency that pass'd at Nottingham but they put it into a scrip of paper and presented it as an additionall article to the committee; to each of whom particularly Mr. Millington

had written letters, and given them such false impressions of the governor, and so prepossess'd them against him, that was a stranger to them all, that they look'd upon him very coldly and slightly, when he made particular addresses to them: but he, that scorn'd to be discourag'd with any man's disregard, from whom he had more reason to have expected all caresses and thankfull acknowledgments of his unwearied fidelity and good services, resolv'd to pursue his owne vindication through all their frownes and cold repulses: these he met with more from Mr. William Pierrepont than from any of the rest, till Mr. Pierrepont perceiv'd the iniustice of their prosecution, and then there was no person in the world that could demeane himselfe with more iustice, honor, and kindnesse then he did to the governor, whose iniuries became first apparent to him, when the lieftenant-colkonell came and told his brother what combinations had bene discover'd against him at Nottingham, which the governor resenting with great indignation, complain'd of it to the committee. The Solicitor White impudently denied the whole matter, or that ever the committee at Nottingham had had the least suspition of the governor or his brother, or the least ground of any. When this had bene with stiffnesse and impudence enough outfac'd before the committee, Mr. Pierrepont, then fully convinc'd of their devillish mallice, pull'd a

letter out of his pocket, wherein Mr. Millington made this suggestion to him against the governor and his brother, and desir'd that he might be arm'd with power to prevent and suppress them. This would have made others asham'd, but their solicitor was notwithstanding impudent and rudely pressing upon the committee, who though they were persons of honor, and after they discover'd the governor's innocence, not forward to oppresse him, yet as they were statesmen, so were they not so ready to relieve him as they ought to have bene, because they could not doe it without a high reflexion upon one of their owne members, who encourag'd all those little men in their wicked persecution of him. They were such exquisite rogues, that all the while some of them betrey'd one another to the governor, and told him, under pretence of honesty and conscience, the bottome of their whole designes, shew'd the fowll originall draughts of their articles, in the men's owne hands that contriv'd them; and told him how not so much dislike of him, as covetousnesse and ambition to advance themselves upon his ruines, engag'd them thus against him, and made them contrive that villainy to accuse him and his brother of treachery, and to have seiz'd their garrisons, under that pretence, and gotten them to be made prisoners; and then Mr. Millington undertooke to have lodg'd their petitions so in the parliament, that

they should never have bene heard and reliev'd. * Coll. Thornhagh too was to be wrought out of his command, and they had divided the spoyle before they caught the lions. Millington's sonne was design'd to be governor of the castle: the ten pounds aweeke allow'd for the governor's table, so many of the committee-men were to share by fortie shillings a man; Chadwick was to be collonell of the towne regiment, and Mason maior; White collonell of the horse regiment, and Palmer, the priest, his maior; and all the governor's friends to be turn'd out, and their places dispos'd to creatures of theirs, who, drawn on with these hopes, were very active to worke the governor and his party out of the opinion of all men. They forgott the publick interest in this private quarrell, taking in all the malignant and debosht people that would ioine with them, to destroy the governor, whom they hated for his unmoved fidellity in his trust, and his severe restriction of ledwdnesse and vice: but because he protected and favour'd godly men that were sober, although they separated from the publick assemblies, this open'd wide the mouths of all the priests and all their idolaters, and they were

* It is averred in the Hist. of Independ. "that the active speaking men pack committees who carry all the businesses of the house as they please, and when the matter is too bad smother it with artificial delays."

willing enough to lett the children of hell crie out with them to make the lowder noyse, and as we have since seene the whole cause and party ruin'd by the same practise, so at that time the zealotts for God and the parliament turn'd all the hate they had to the enemies of both, and call'd them to assist in executing their mallice upon the faithfull servant and generous champion of the Lord's and his country's iust cause. And now the name of Cavallier was no more remember'd, Castilian being the terme of reproach with which they branded all the governor's friends, and lamentable it was to behold how those wretched men fell away under this temptation, not only from publick-spiritednesse, but from sobriety and honest morall conversation; not only conniving at and permitting the wickednesse of others, but themselves conversing in taverns and brothells, till at last Millington and White were so ensnar'd that they married a couple of alehouse wenches, to their open shame and the conviction of the whole country of the vaine lives they led, and some reflection on the parliament itselfe, as much as the miscarriage of a member could cast on it, when Millington, a man of sixty, professing religion, and having but lately buried a religious matronly gentlewoman, should goe to an alehouse to take a flirtish girle of sixteen; yet by these noble alliances, they much strengthen'd their faction with all

the vaine drunken rogues in the towne against the governor. Now their first plott had, by God's providence, bene detected, they fell upon others, and set on instruments every where, to insinuate all the lies they could, that might render the governor odious to the towne and to the horse of the garrison, whom they desir'd to stirre up to petition against him, but could not find any considerable number that would freely doe it; therefore they us'd all the strong motives they could, and told them the governor sought to exercise an arbitrary power over them, and to have all their booties at his owne dispose, and other such like things, by which at length they prevail'd with many of Coll. Thornhagh's regiment to subscribe a petition that they might be under the command of the committee, and not of any other person in the garrison. This petition was sent up by Captaine Palmer, and he meeting Mr. Pigott at Westminster Hall, Mr. Pigott, in private discourse with him, began to bewaile the scandalous conversation of certaine persons of the committee, hoping that he, being familiar with them, might be a means to perswade them to reformation.

After this the governor, Coll. Thornhagh, Mr. Pigott, and some other, being in a taverne at Westminster, where they din'd, Capt. Palmer came to the doore, and they bade him come in. Upon discourse, the governor pull'd out of his

pockett the articles which the committee had put in against him, shew'd them Captaine Palmer, and ask'd him whither he thought it possible that he should, after all his toyles and services, have bene articted against for such things. Palmer, who had bene from the beginning with the governor, and knew the falsehood of these accusations, profess'd he was amaz'd at them, and that he had not till then heard aniething of them. Continuing in further discourse, the governor mention'd an unchristian-like sermon, which Mr. Goodall had preacht with invectives against him, in his absence: Palmer undertooke the iustification of it, with such sawcy provocations, that the governor told him, if it had not bene more in respect to his black coate then his grey, he would have beaten him out of the roome, which for his owne safety, he advis'd him to leave: so he went out very angrie, and going to Captaine White, told him how Mr. Pigott call'd him a whore-master, Mr. Millington a drunkard, and Chadwick a knave. White, meeting Mr. Pigott, in the hall, challeng'd him of these scandalls. Mr. Pigott, seeing Palmer not farre off, led White to him, and told him he knew that person had bene his informer, repeating all he had say'd to him, and added, that it was in a desire of their reformation, but he would maintaine that all the things he spoke were true. Palmer further, in his rage, putts into the committee a paper of reasons, why

he desir'd to be exempted from being under the governor, whereof one was, that he had cowardly and unhandsomely behav'd himselfe in an occasion when Palmer's troope marcht out with him to Elston. The governor sent a copie of this paper downe to Palmer's owne troope; and the lieftenant, coronett, and all the troopers, sent up a certificate, under their hands, of the falsehood of their captaine's accusation. After this Palmer came into the garrison, and made a grievous exclamation all over the towne against the governor and Mr. Pigott for traducing the ministers, Mr. Millington, and the committee; adding a false report, that the governor had throwne a trencher at his head; and abusing the pulpitt to perswade the people to vindicate them: among other things, he misapplied a place in Nehemiah, where Nehemiah says, "I eate not the governor's bread, because the feare of the Lord was upon me," to the governor; that his accepting a public table, was a mark of the want of the feare of God: and many other such malicious wrestings of Scripture, did he and his fellow-priests at that time practise. The committee of Nottingham, on their side, taking this occasion, call'd a publick hall in the towne, where two orations were made by Mr. Millington and Coll. Chadwick. Millington began with a large enumeration of Chadwick's worthy actions, (known to no man,) whereby he merited honor

of all men, especially of this towne; and then mentioning his owne good services for the towne, told them how ungratefully they were repay'd by Mr. Pigott, with the scandalous aspersion of drunkards and knaves; and that their singular affections and endeavours for the good of the towne, had expos'd them to this calumny, wherefore they desir'd the towne to ioyne in their iustification. Chadwick made iust such another speech, and both of them seem'd to passe by their owne particular, and only to desire the other's iustification; Chadwick, in his speech, saying that Mr. Pigott's abuse of Mr. Millington did not only asperse the committee, but even the parliament itselfe. Captaine Lomax, then deputy-governor of the garrison, after they had spoken, stood up, and advised the townesmen that they should forbear to entangle themselves in things they understood not, adding that Mr. Pigott and the gentlemen at London were persons of such honor and prudence, that they would maintaine whatever they had spoken of any man. Here-upon Capt. Mason, and two malignant townsmen of his souldiers, began to mutiny, with high insolence, and to lay violent hands on him to thrust him out of the hall, giving him most reproachfull terms; but the man being very stout, quieted them, and would not depart till the hall broke up. After this, without acquainting the deputy-governor, they summon'd another hall;

but Lomax seeing their inclination to mutiny forbade it. Then, at ten of the clock at night, they gott a common councell together, at Mr. Salisbury his house, and there Mr. Millington againe desired they would ioyne in the vindication of himselfe; the ministers, and the committee, and gott about eight of them to subscribe a blank paper. Then the committee, with certeine instruments of theirs, appoynted rounds to walke the towne, perswading some, and threatning others, to sett their hands to a petition, which none of them that subscribed it knew what it was, but they told them it was for the good of the towne.

All this while these pettie committee fellows had carried themselves as absolute governors, and Plumtre was now their intimate favourite, and began to vapour that he would have the castle pull'd downe to re-erect the church, and the fort at the bridges throwne downe, and all the arms and souldiers brought into the towne.

But at London, the governor being growne into acquaintance with the gentlemen of the sub-committee, that were to heare his businesse, and they perceiving with how much wicked mallice he was prosecuted, Sr. Henry Vane was so honorable as to give him advice to put his businesse in such a way, as might take away all colour from his enemies; whereupon he put in some propositions to the committee of both kingdomes, for

the composure if these differences, wherein he was willing to decline all things of his owne right, which might be done without preiudice to the publick service, and to passe by all the iniuries that had bene done him; which condescension gave such satisfaction, that forthwith the whole businesse was determin'd at the committee of both kingdomes, and the governor sent back to his charge, with instructions drawne up for all parties, and letters written to the officers and souldiers, both of horse and foote, to be obedient; and likewise letters to the maior of the towne and the committee. The governor returning, word was brought to Nottingham, that on Friday night he lay at Leicester, whereupon the committee, who had heard the determination of things above, gott them ready to be gone, but the souldiers having notice thereof, went to the deputy-governor and entreated him to stop the treasurer; whereupon he and the maior of the regiment went to them, and entreated them to stay till the governor came, but to see what instructions he brought with him, from the powers above: but when they would not be perswaded fairely, then the deputy peremptorily forbad the treasurer, as he would answer it, not to goe. But he refusing to obey, the deputy told him he should passe on his sword's poynt if he went, and accordingly went downe to sett guards at the Trent bridges; which being told

them, they made hast and fled out at the other end of the towne. Millington, Chadwick, Ayscough, Salisbury, and Mason, (whom they had gotten added to the committee to encrease their faction), were the committee men, who tooke with them their new marshall and another of their created officers, Palmer, two more priests, and a towne captaine. The governor was met on the way homewards by some of his officers, and told with what ioy his garrison and regiment were preparing to entertaine him, in all expressions they could possibly make by volleyes of cannon and musketts, and ringing of bells, and all such declarations as us'd to be made in a publick and universall reioycing; but the governor, fearing his enemies might not beare such testimonies of love to him, without grieffe, sent into the towne to desire them to forbear their kind intentions of giving him so lowd a wellcome. When he was now neere the towne, another messenger came to acquaint him, that all those who would have bene griev'd at his ioyful entertainment were fled, and that those who remained would be much griev'd, if he should not be pleas'd to give them leave to receive him with such demonstrations of their ioy as they could make. He now per-

mitted them to doe what they pleas'd, which leave being obtain'd, every one strove to declare his gladnesse, with all imaginable expressions of love and honour, and all the solemnities the time and place would afford. The governor on his side receiv'd them with a cheerefull oblieging curtesie to all, and a large bounty to his loving souldiers, who made that day as greate a festivall, as if themselves and their families had bene redeem'd from captivity. The maior of the towne, with his brethren in their scarletts, mett him, and told him, if he had bene guilty of amething prejudicial to him, he was exceeding sorrie for it, for he infinitely honor'd him, and all his errors had bene through ignorance or misinformation, which he should be most ready to repayre. That evening White came home pining with spite and envie at the governor and the gentlemen that ioyn'd with him, viz. Coll. Thornhagh, Mr. Pigott, Lieftenant-collonnell Hutchinson, Maior Widmerpoole, Capt. Lomax, and Alderman James: for as to the maior of the towne, notwithstanding his faire professions publickly to the governor, White had the same night againe turn'd about that weathercock.

The next day the governor and the com-

mittee with him sent a command to all the horse in towne to march to the assistance of Derby and Leicester, to fortifie a house call'd Cole-orton, which not being taken notice of, the governor and Coll. Thornhagh summon'd all the horse officers, and declar'd to them the orders of the committee of both kingdoms, to which they chearefully promis'd obedience; but White being sent for among them, insolently refus'd to come up to the castle, and bade the governor come downe to him, to the committee's chamber; yet upon second thoughts he came up, and the governor tooke no notice for that time. Munday the governor sent to the maior to call a hall, but the maior entreated him to forbear till they saw whither the committee-men that ran away would come back, and that he might goe with Capt. White to perswade them; both which the governor assented to; but the men would not returne, but went from Derby to London. Then the governor call'd a generall muster, and read to them the instructions he had brought from the committee of both kingdoms, with which all men were exceeding well pleas'd. But Captaine White all this while would not deliver the letters he had to the committee and the maior of Nottingham.

Some few days after word was brought the governor that the new dragoones were come for ammunition, to march out upon some designe he was not acquainted with, whereupon he sent to the guards at the bridges not to suffer them to passe without his tickett. Immediately after White came allong with them, and being denied to passe, gave the guards such provocative language that they were forc'd to send for the governor. He came downe and found White in high rage, who gave him all the vile terms and opprobrious language he could invent, to provoke him to some anger upon which he might have taken his advantage: but the governor only laught at his fogue*, and would not lett him goe till he shew'd a warrant from the councell of warre at London, and then he permitted him, after White had told him that he would not be commanded by him, and a thousand such mutinous speeches. As he went towards London he mett the horse coming home from Cole-orton, whom he told such lies of the governor's usage of him, that they were frighted from coming into the garrison, but that Coll. Thornhagh prevailed with them to

• French — *Fougue*.

take his engagement, that the governor should give them no ill usage. So they came back, and that weeke their collonell fell into the enemie's quarters with them and tooke eighty horse, two horse colours, a maior and some other officers. The bridge troope alsoe met with Coll. Stanhope, governor of Shelford *, who had two parties, each as many as they ; his, where himselfe was, they routed, and he ran away, while the other party charg'd them in the reare, upon whom they turn'd, routed and chased them out of the field, tooke Lieutenant-collonell Stanhope and his ensigne, and many other prisoners, with many horse and arms. In the absence of the governor and his brother, the committee had done all they could to discourage and dissipate this troope, and would neither give them money nor provisions, yet, upon hopes of their captaine's

* Here, viz. in the end of the year 1644, Shelford clearly appears to be a garrison for the king; yet Whitelock, p. 96, says that in July 1644, Lord Grey of Groby and Sir John Gell had the thanks of the parliament for taking it: this is an evident inaccuracy of Whitelock's, or a very successful puff of Sir John's. To put it out of doubt, Sprigge, in his *Anglia Rediviva*, counts it among the king's garrisons, May 1645: and Col. Hutchinson, supported by Rossiter, took it in person and by storm a year after that.

returne, they kept themselves together, and when the governor came home he recruited them.

The committee of both kingdoms had sent downe at this time an order for all the horse of Nottingham and Derbyshires to ioyn with three regiments of Yorkshire, and quarter about Newark, to streighten the enemie there, and accordingly they rendezvouz'd at Mansfield, and from thence marcht to Thurgarton, where Sr. Roger Cooper had fortified his house, and lin'd the hedges with musketeers, who as the troopes past by shott and kill'd one Capt. Heywood. Hereupon Coll. Thornhagh sent to the governor, and desir'd to borrow some foote to take the house. The governor accordingly lent him three companies, who tooke the house, and Sr. Roger Cooper and his brother, and forty men, in it, who were sent prisoners to Nottingham, where, although Sr. Roger Cooper was in greate dread to be put into the governor's hands, whom he had provok'd before upon a private occasion, yett he receiv'd such a civill treatment from him, that he seem'd to be much moov'd and melted with it. The foote had done all the service, and run all the hazard, in taking the house, yet the booty was all

given to the horse: this they had very iust reason to resent, but notwithstanding they marcht allong with them to Southwell, and there were most sadly neglected, and put upon keeping outguards for the horse, and had no provisions, but the governor was forc'd to send them some out of his garrison, or elce they had bene left to horrible distresse. Hereupon they sent to the governor to desire they might come home, but upon Coll. Thornhagh's entreaty, and engagement that they should be better us'd, the governor was content to lett them stay a little longer, till more horse came up, which were sent for out of Yorkshire. In the meane time those who were there already did nothing but harrasse the poore country, and the horse officers were so negligent of their owne duty, and so remisse in the government of their souldiers, that the service was infinitely preiudic'd, and the poore country miserably distress'd. The Nottingham horse, being in their owne country, and having their famelies in and about Nottingham, were more guilty of stragling then any of the rest, and Captaine White's whole troope having presum'd to be away one night when they should have bene upon the guard, the Newakers beate up our quarters, and tooke

almost two whole troopes of that regiment. White's lieftenant, without any leave from the collonell, thereupon posted up to London, and contriv'd a complaint against the governor, to make him appeare guilty of this disorder: but soone after Newark gave them another alarum, and the parliament horse made so slender an appearance that the officers, thereupon consulting in a councell of warre, concluded that the designe was not to be prosecuted without more force, and for the present broke up their quarters.

The committee men that ranne away when the governor return'd had taken the treasurer away with them, and left neither any mony, nor so much as the rent rolls whereby the governor could be instructed where to fetch in any *, but by the prudence and interest of himselfe and his friends, he procur'd a month's pay for the foote, and twenty shillings a man for the horse †, as soone as he came home, and

* Rent rolls of sequestrated or forfeited estates.

† One out of many instances of Col. Hutchinson's generous devotion to the cause, which brought on him that load of debt so oppressive to him in the reverse of affairs. In p. 623 and 624 of Rushworth, Thornhagh's Nottinghamshire horse state that they had served five years, and received barely six shillings a week in all; and that there

recruited all the stores, which the committee had purposely wasted in his absence, and fetcht in a small stock of powder they had lay'd in at Salisbury's house. While he was thus industriously setting things in order, which they had confounded, they at London were as maliciously active to make more confusion. They contriv'd many false and frivolous articles and petitions against him, and proceeded to that degree of impudence in desiring alterations, and casting reflections upon the sub-committee itself, that they grew weary of them. Mr. Pierrepont and Sr. H. Vane, being now taken notice of as leaders of the Independent faction *, when those gentlemen out of mere iustice and honour dis-

was 40,000*l.* due to them. Judge from these two corps, Col. Hutchinson's being twelve hundred infantry, and two or three troops of dragoons, Thornhagh's about six hundred horse, what was the general state of the army as to pay! Mr. Sprigge might well say of the troops as he does, "it was not their pay that pacified them, for "had they not had more civility than money, things had "not been so fairly managed."

* Probably it was the experience these two excellent politicians had of Col. Hutchinson's abilities and integrity on this trial which induced them afterwards to take him for their associate.

countenanc'd their envy and mallice, they applied themselves to the Presbyterian faction, and insinuating to them that the iustice of those gentlemen was partiality to the governor, because he was a protector of the now hated separatists, they prevail'd to have Sr. Philip Stapleton and Sr. Gilbert Garrett, two fierce presbyterians, added to the sub-committee, to ballance the other faction, and found this wicked invention not a little advantageous to them: yet Mr. Hollis, who was a person of honor, did not comply with their factious spirits, but gave the governor all iust assistance against their mallice which lay in his power. * But they quitting all modestie, and pressing the committee with false affirmations and forgeries, that all men would lay downe their arms if the governor were not remoov'd, at length they prevail'd, that he was the second time sent for to London to iustify himselfe against them. In that blank, to which they had by fraud and threats procur'd so many hands, they writt a petition, alledging that the governor was so generally de-

* Mrs. Hutchinson, who in other places speaks with much disapprobation of Mr. Hollis, here most candidly gives him his due.

tested, that if he were not remoov'd all men would fling downe their arms, and the subscriptions they thus abus'd were those they procur'd to vindicate Mr. Millington. Salisbury and one Silvester, had, for their owne profit, gotten a commission to sett on foote the excise in the county, and ioyn'd with them one Sherwin. These two were such pragmaticall knaves, that they iustly became odious to all men, and although necessity might excuse the tax in other places, yet here it was such a burthen that no man of any honesty or conscience could have acted in it, For when plundering troopes kill'd all the poore countriemen's sheepe and swine, and other provisions, whereby many honest families were ruin'd and beggard, these unmercifull people would force excise out of them for those very goods which the other had robb'd them of, insomuch that the religious souldiers sayd they would starve before they would be employ'd in forcing it, or take any of it for their pay. The governor, being enclin'd in conscience to assist the poore country, was very active in his endeavours to relieve them from this oppression, which his enemies highly urg'd in their articles against him. These excisemen came very pressingly to urge the go-

vernor to enforce the payment of it in the towne; he told them before he would use compulsion he would trie faire meanes, and call a hall to see whether the townsmen would be perswaded, which accordingly he did: but when the day came the excisemen came to the governor and advis'd him to take a strong guard with him, telling him that the butchers had been whetting their knives, and intended mischief, and had cast out many words intimating a dangerous designe. The governor told them he should not augment his usuall guard, and could feare nothing, having no intent to do anie thing that might provoke them to mutiny. They went againe to the men and told them the governor intended to come with many armed men, to compell them to pay it; whereupon when he came to the hall he found but a very slender appearance, yet those who were there were all fully resolv'd not to pay it; but the governor wrought with them to represent their reasons, in an humble manner, to the committee of both kingdoms, and that there should be a fuller meeting to that purpose the next weeke, and that in the meane time both parties should forbear any private addresses in this matter. To this the excisemen agreed, yet notwithstanding the governor tooke a whole

packett of their letters going to London, which when he discovered, he alsoe writt to his friends in London on behalfe of the garrison. The next weeke, at a full meeting, a petition was sign'd, which the governor offer'd the towne to have carried, being himselfe to goe up, but they in a complement refus'd to give him the trouble, pitching upon Capt. Coates and the towne-clearke to goe up with it. They accordingly went, about the time that, after seven weekes' stay in the garrison, the governor was call'd againe up to London to iustifie himselfe against the mallitious clamours of his adversaries. When Capt. Coates and the other came to London they applied themselves to Mr. Millington, who perceiving that the governor stood for the ease of the garrison, putt them into a way to frustrate their owne designes, and so they return'd home, and at the sessions, rend'ring the towne an account of their negotiations, they told them they found it an impossible thing to get the excise taken of; yett the governor knew a way how to ease them, but they fear'd he would be discouraged in it, because at his comming up he had found their disaffections expresst against him in a petition to cast him out of his command, "which," say'd the clearke, "you can-

“ not doe, for he still is and must be governor;
 “ therefore if any of you have bene cheated
 “ of your hands, contrary to your intentions
 “ and desires, you would doe well to testify
 “ your honesty, by disclaiming what goes on
 “ under your name.” Soone after these
 mallignants stirr’d up the souldiers to mutiny,
 and there being no governor in the garrison
 that could tell how to order them otherwise,
 they were appeas’d with money; upon which
 occasion a general muster being called, the
 maior told the soldiers how they were iniured
 at London by a petition, preferr’d in the name
 of the whole garrison, to cast the governor out
 of his command, which if it were not their
 desire, he wisht them to certifie the con-
 trary. They all with one voyce cried, they
 desir’d no other governor: whereupon a certi-
 ficate to that purpose was drawne up; but
 when it came to be subscrib’d certeine of the
 committee faction went up and downe perswad-
 ing the companies not to subscribe, and when
 they found how little they prevailed, they
 foamed for anger, and such mallitious rayling,
 that one of the governor’s souldiers, not able to
 beare them longer, cried out, “ Why do we
 “ suffer these fellows to vapour thus? let’s
 “ clout them out of the field:” but the maior

hearing it, committed him ; and the next morning the certificate went up, subscrib'd with seven hundred townsmen's hands. After all was done, the maior gave some small summe to the souldiers to drinke, and the mallitious faction, when they saw they could not hinder this certificate, made another false one of their owne, that the maior had with crownes apiece hired all these subscriptions, with other such like lies, which when they could not make good, 'tis sayd they retracted their certificate at London.

The committee at London could never finish the businesse by reason of the impertinent clamours of the governor's enemies, therefore at length, wearied with the continuall endlesse papers they had dayly brought in, they made an order, wherein they assign'd a certeine day for the determination of the power, and in the meane time commanded all matter of crimination on both sides should be forborne. At the day they both appeared, but Mr. Millington presented a petition of a most insolent nature, and fresh articles against the governor, which gave the committee much distast. The petition was, that whereas the committee had kept them ten weekes at greate charges, they desir'd a speedy dispatch now,

according to their propositions. The committee were much offended at this, and told them they did them much iniury to lay their stay upon them, who five weekes before desir'd them to returne, and only leave a sollicitor for each, and then they refus'd it ; that they had broken their first orders, and given no satisfaction for it, and now alsoe their last, in bringing in articles against the governor. They tooke it very ill that they, who were plaintiffs, should prescribe to them, who were iudges, how to determine the businesse ; wherefore they order'd that the governor should returne and persue his first instructions, till he receiv'd new ones, and that the businesse should be reported to the house. The governor sent his brother downe to take care of the garrison, and stay'd himselfe to receive the finall determination of the house, where Mr. Millington, through his interest, kept of the report, by severall tricks and uniust delays, about three or foure months.

When the lieftenant-collonell came downe the captaines were wonderfull obedient, and all things pretty quiet, but the governor's officers were discourag'd at the countenance which was given his enemies, and the impunitie of all the crimes of that faction. He having a cer-

teine spiritt of government, in an extraordinary manner, which was not given to others, carrying an awe in his presence that his enemies could not withstand, the garrison was much disorder'd by his absence, and in dayly perill, although the lieftenant-collonell was as faithfull and industrious in managing that charge as any person could be, and as excellent a person, but in a different way from his brother. Firmnesse and zeale to the cause, and personall vallour he had equal, but that vigour of soule which made him invincible against all assaults, and overcame all difficulties he mett in his way, was proper to himselfe alone. The lieftenant-collonell was a man of the kindest heart and the most humble familliar deportment in the world, and liv'd with all his souldiers as if they had bene his brothers, dispencing with that reverence which was due to him, and living chearefull and merry, and familliar with them, in such a manner that they celebrated him, and profest the highest love in the world, and would magnifie his humillity and kindnesse, and him for it, in a high degree above his brother; but with all this they grew so presumptuous that, when any obedience was exacted beyond their humors or apprehensions, they would often dare to faile in their duty; whereas the governor,

still keeping a greater distance though with no more pride, preserv'd an awe that made him to be equally fear'd and lov'd, and though they secretly repin'd at their subiection, yet durst they not refuse it; and, when they came to render it on greate occasions, they found such wisdom and such advantage in all his dictates that, their reason being convinc'd of the benefit of his government, they delighted in it, and accounted it a happiness to be under his command, when any publick necessity superseded the mutiny of those private lusts, whereby all men naturally, but especially vulgar spiritts, would cast of their bridle, and be their owne only rulers. *

As the governor's absence was the occasion of many neglects in the government, not by his brother's fault, but the souldiers, who wanting of their pay (which while the committee should have been providing, they were spending it in vexatious prosecutions of the governor), and therefore discontented, and through that carelesse of their duty; soe, on the other side, the

* In the delineation of characters Mrs. Hutchinson remarkably excels. Nothing can be more amiable than that which she here draws of Mr. George Hutchinson; and this character he will be found to sustain with increased esteem to the end of the history.

cavaliers, who were not ignorant of the dissensions in the garrison, tooke the advantage, and surpriz'd the lieftenant-collonell's fort at the Trent bridges, while he was employ'd in keeping the castle. His souldiers in his absence lying out of their quarters, had not left above thirty men upon the guard, who were most of them kill'd; the ensigne fighting it out very stoutly, after their entrance, till he died. The lieftenant-collonell was exceedingly afflicted with this losse, but presently applied himselfe to secure what remain'd. The whole towne was in a sad uproare, and this happ'ning upon a Lord's day in the morning, in May, 1645, all the people were in such a consternation that they could keepe no sabbath that day. Then the lieftenant-collonell had an experiment of vulgar spiritts, for even his owne souldiers, who were guilty of the losse of the place by being out of their quarters, began to exclaime against him for a thousand causelesse things; and although he labour'd amongst them with as much courage and vigour as any man could use, to settle their spiritts and regaine the place, yet they slighted him most uniustly, and all cried out now to have the governor sent for, as if he himselfe had bene their castle.

Immediately after the unhappie surprize of

the bridges the lieutenant-collonell sent away to his brother a post, who by some of the lower fords got over the water, and carried his sad newes to London. A trumpett was sent to the bridges and obtain'd the dead bodies of the souldiers who were slaine at the surprize, and they were brought up to the towne in carts and buried. There was about twenty of them, very good and stout men, though it avail'd them not in their last need, when a multitude had seiz'd them unawares. All that day a body of the enemie fac'd the towne, which through terrors without and discouragements and discontents within, was in a very sad posture. The malignant faction against the governor improv'd even this occasion, and suggested to the towne that the castle would be the cause of their ruine; that the governor and his souldiers would secure themselves there, and leave the towne undefended; and because the lieutenant-collonell was very strict that none of the castle souldiers should lie out of their quarters, least that place might be surpriz'd as well as the other, the townsmen renew'd their raylings against the castle, and their mallice to all that were in it, but the lieutenant-collonell, regarding none of their uniust raylings, by God's blessing upon his vigilance, kept the towne and castle till his brother's returne.

Assoone as the newes came to the governor at London, he thought it time to throw of that patience with which he had hitherto waited at greate expence, and went to the parliament-house before the house sate, and there acquainted the speaker what was befallen at Nottingham, desireing he might be called to make a relation of it in the open house, or elce told the speaker though he died for it, he would presse in and lett them know, how much the cause suffer'd by the indirect practises, which were partially conniv'd at in some of their members. The speaker seeing him so resolv'd, procur'd him, when the house was sett, to be call'd in; and there he told them, how their fort was lost, and, for ought he knew, the garrison, by that time, which was no more than what he had long expected, through the countenance that was, by one of their members, given to a malignant faction, that obstructed all the publick service, disturb'd all the honest souldiers and officers in their duty, and spent the publick treasury, to carrie on their private mallice. He further told them, how dishonorable, as well as destructive to their cause, it was, that their members should be protected in such uniust prosecutions, and should make the privelledge of the house their shelter to oppresse the most active and faithfull of their servants. This

and many other things he told them, with such boldnesse, that many of the guilty members had a mind to have committed him, but with such truth and convincing reason, that all those of more generous spiritts, were much moov'd by it, and angrie that he had bene so iniuriously treated, and desir'd him to take post downe and to use all means to regaine the place, and gave him full orders to execute his charge without disturbance. * From that time Mr. Millington so lost his credit, that he never recover'd the esteeme he formerly had among them; and after that time, the governor's enemies perceiving they were not able to mate † him, made no more publick attempts, though they continued that private mallice, which was the naturall product of that antipathie there was, betweene his vertues and their vices. ‡ Neither was it his case

* How would a similar expostulation, made at the bar of the honourable house, be received at the present day?

† Mate, conquer; Fr., matter, an expression taken from the game of chess.

‡ It must almost have exhausted the patience of the reader, and certainly have excited his highest indignation, to follow through all their mazes the crafty and atrocious persecutors of Col. Hutchinson; at the same time that it must have been a great consolation to him to see integrity supported by discretion thus work out its own preservation. We may now congratulate him on emerging from

only; almost all the parliament-garrisons were infested and disturb'd with like factious little people, insomuch that many worthy gentlemen were wearied out of their commands, and opprest by a certeine meane sort of people in the house, whom to distinguish from the more honourable gentlemen, they call'd *Worsted Stocking Men*. Some as violently curb'd their committees, as the committees factiously molested them.* Nor was the faction only in particular garrisons, but the parliament-house itselfe began to fall into the two greate oppositions, of Presbytery and Independency: and, as if discord had infected the whole English ayre with an epidemicall heart-burning and dissention in all places, even the king's counsell and garrisons were as factiously devided. The king's commissioners and the governor at Newark fell into such high discontents, that Sr. Richard Biron, the governor, was changed, and Sr. Richard Willis put into his place.† This accident of the

these mists and intricacies, and finding himself in open field and daylight, where the colonel's nobler virtues can display themselves.

* These were but the natural consequences of a state of revolution. Did these worsted-stockings men bear no likeness to the Jacobins of modern days?

† The same who afterwards became a spy for Cromwell; a bad substitute for the loyal Biron!

bridges put an end to that vexatious persecution wherewith the governor had had many sore exercises of his wisdom, patience, and courage, and many experiences of God's mercy and goodnesse, supporting him in all his trialls, and bearing him up against all discouragements, not only to stand without the least deiection himselfe, but to be able to hold up many others, who were readie to sinke under the burthen of unrighteousnesse and oppression, where they expected iust thanks and rewards. It cost the governor above three hundred pounds to defend himselfe againse their calumnies, renewed forgeries, and scandalls, lay'd upon him; but God was with him in all in a wonderfull manner, bringing truth to light through all the cloudes of envie, that sought to obscure it, and making his innocence and uprightness to shine forth as the noone-day, iustifying him even in the eyes of his enemies, and covering them with shame and confusion of face. They maintain'd their prosecution of him out of the publick stock, and were not call'd to account for so mis-spending it. Mr. Millington perceiving how much he had lost himselfe by it, applied himselfe to seeke a reconciliation by flattering letters, and professions of conviction and repentance of his uniuert siding with

those men. The governor, who was of a most reconcileable nature, forgave him, and ever after lived in good friendship with him.* Others of them alsoe afterwards, when they saw the governor out of their power, some through feare, and others overcome with his goodnesse, submitted to him, who liv'd to see the end of them all, part of them dying before any disgrace or greate sorrowes overtooke him, and those who surviv'd, renouncing and apostatizing from their most glorious engagements, and becoming guilty of those crimes for which they falsely accused him, while he remain'd firme, and dying seal'd up the profession of his life ; in all the future difficulties of which, he was still borne up with the experience of God's goodnesse and manifold protections.

The governor being dismiss from the parliament, immediately tooke post, and coming through Northampton, mett his old engineer Hooper, and brought him with him to Nottingham, where, by God's mercy, he arriv'd

* As Mr. Millington will figure no more in this history, the reader is here informed that he finished his career, after becoming one of the judges who sentenced Charles the First, by coming in upon proclamation, making a pitiful recantation, and being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

safe about three dayes after the losse of the bridges, and was wellcom'd, as if safety and victory and all desiréable blessings had come in his traine. His presence reinforc'd the drooping garrison, and he immediately consulted how to goe about regaining the fort. To this purpose, and to hinder the enemie from having an inlett into the towne by the bridges, he made a little fort on the next bridge, and put a lieftenant and thirty men into it, thereby enclosing those in the fort the enemie had surpriz'd, whom he resolv'd to assault on the towne side, having thus provided that their friends should not come from the other side * to helpe them. But those of Newark understanding this, came as strong as they could one morning and assaulted the little new fort, where the Lieftenant Hall, failing of that courage which he had profess'd when he begg'd the honour of keeping it, gave it up, which the governor seeing on the other side, was exceedingly vext, and marcht up to the bridge to assault them in that fort, but found that they had only storm'd the other

* To understand this rightly it is necessary to be informed, that in approaching Nottingham from the south there is a very wide valley, through which the Trent and the Lene run in several branches, over which are bridges united by a causeway.

little fort to make their owne way to be gone, and that they had made shift to get to their friends upon the ribs of two broken arches, which, when they had serv'd to helpe their passage, they pull'd up, to hinder persuite after them: and thus in a month's space God restor'd to the governor the fort which was lost in his absence, and he new fortified the place, and repair'd the bridges, whereby the greate markett out of the vale was againe brought into the towne, to their exceeding ioy and benefitt.

This summer there was another kind of progresse made in the warre then had bene before, and the new parliament-armie prosecuting it so much in earnest, that they made a shew to block up the king in his maine garrison at Oxford, he breakes out, and ioyning with Prince Rupert's horse, came, after severall attempts otherwhere, to Leicester, which he tooke by storme. The losse of this towne was a greate affliction and terror to all the neighbouring garrisons and countries, whereupon Fairfax closely attended the king's motions, came within a few dayes and fought with the king, and overcame him in that memorable battle at Naseby, where his coach and cabinet of letters were taken; which letters being carried to London were printed, and manifested his false-

hood, when, contrary to his professions, he had endeavour'd to bring in Danes and Lorrainers, and Irish rebels, to subdue the good people here, and given himselfe up to be govern'd by the queene in all affaires both of state and religion.* After this fight Fairfax tooke againe the towne of Leicester, and went into the west, reliev'd Taunton, tooke Bristoll, and many other garrisons. West Chester alsoe and other places were taken that way. Meanwhile the king, having coasted about the countries, came at last to Newark, and there his commanders falling out among themselves, he changed the governor, and putt the Lord Bel-lasis into the place, and went himselfe to Oxford, where he was at last block'd up.

When Sr. Thomas Fairfax was made chiefe generall, Poyntz was made maior-generall of the northerne counties, and a committee of warre was set up at Yorke, whereof Coll. Pier-

* The public is in possession of these, they having been printed by the parliament, which some have thought a hardship, but surely without reason. It is useless here to discuss the question as to what help it was allowable for the king to call in, but it is out of all question that the discovery of that bitterness with which he was inclined to pursue the quarrel, and the fraudulency with which he had managed treaties, and shewed that he meant to do others, cut up by the roots both compassion and confidence.

repon't, by his brother's procurement, was appointed one, and pretty well satisfied, as thinking himselfe againe sett above Coll. Hutchinson, because all the northerne garrisons were to receive orders from that committee : but the governor, heeding not other men's exaltations or depressions, only attended his owne dutie. About the latter end of this summer, Poyntz came to Nottingham with all the horse that could be gather'd in the neighbouring counties. He had before marcht with them and the Nottingham regiment in Cheshire, and brought severall gentlemen prisoners into the garrison of Nottingham, who had bene taken in divers encounters. When he marcht out, Palmer the priest, not daring to venture himselfe in the field, layd downe his commission, when he saw that there was now no connivance to be found at disobeying commands.

By reason of the rout at Naseby, and the surrender of Carlisle to the Scotts, and severall other garrisons; the broken forces of the cavaliers had all repayr'd to Newark, and that was now become the strongest and best fortified garrison the king had, and Poyntz was order'd to quarter his horse about it, till the Scotts should come on the other side and besiege it. At that time alsoe the king himselfe was there.*

* Having come hither from Wales with a body of three

The governor having inform'd Poyntz how prejudiciall it would be to his designe to suffer those little garrisons in the vale at Shelford and Wiverton to remaine, it was agreed that all the forces should take them in their way. But the governor having obtain'd permission of Poyntz, through a respect he had to the famely, sent to Coll. Phillip Stanhope, governor of Shelford, a letter to persuade him to surrender the place he could not hold, and to offer him to obtaine honorable termes for him, if he would harken to propositions. Stanhope return'd a very scornefull, huffing replie, in which one of his expressions was, that he should lay Nottingham-castle as flatt as a pancake, and such other bravadoes, which had bene lesse amisse, if he had done anything to make them good. Hereupon the whole force marcht against the place, and the severall posts were assign'd to the severall collonells. The governor, according to his owne desire, had that which seem'd most difficult assign'd to him, and his quarters that night appoynted in Shelford towne. When he came thither, a few of Shelford souldiers were gotten into the steeple of the church, and from thence so play'd upon the governor's men that

thousand men ; he staid till fearing to be besieg'd by the Scots, who were approaching, he went away by night to Oxford, Nov. 6. 1645.

they could not quietly take up their quarters. There was a trap-doore that went into the bell-frie, and they had made it fast, and drawne up the ladder and the bell-ropes, and regarded not the governor's threat'ning them to have no quarter if they came not downe, so that he was forc'd to send for straw and fire it, and smother them out. Hereupon they came downe, and among them there was a boy who had marcht out with the governor's company, when he went first against Newark, and carried himselfe so stoutly that Capt. Wray begg'd him for a footeboy; and when his troope was once taken by the enemye this boy, being taken among them, became one of their souldiers. The governor making him believe he should be hang'd immediately for changing his party, and for holding out to their disturbance, where he could not hope for reliefe, the boy begg'd he might be spar'd, and offer'd to lead them on to a place, where only they could enter, where the palisadoe was unfinished. The governor, without trusting to him, consider'd the probability of his information, kept him under guard, and sett him in the front of his men, and he accordingly prov'd to have told them truth in all that he had sayd, and did excellent good service, behaving himselfe most stoutly. The governor being arm'd, and

ready to begin the assault, when the rest were alsoe ready, Capt. White came to him, and, notwithstanding all his former mallitious prosecutions, now pretends the most tender care and love that could be declared, with all imaginable flattery, and perswades the governor not to hazard himselfe in so dangerous an attempt, but to consider his wife and children, and stand by among the horse, but by no meanes to storne the place in his owne person. Notwithstanding all his false insinuations, the governor perceiv'd his envie at that honor which his vallour was ready to reape in this encounter, was exceeding angrie with him, and went on upon the place. This being seated on a flatt, was encompass'd with a very strong bullwarke, and a greate ditch without, in most places wett at the bottom, so that they within were very confident, there being no cannon brought against them, to hold it out; because alsoe a broken regiment of the queene's, who were all papists, were come in to their assistance. A regiment of Londoners were appoynted to storne on the other side, and the governor at the same time began the assault at his post. His men found many difficulties more then they expected, for after they had fill'd up the ditches with faggots, and pitcht the scaling ladders, they were

twenty staves too short, and the enemie, from the top of the workes, threw downe loggs of wood, which would sweep of a whole ladder-full of men at once: the lieftenant-collonell himselfe was once or twice so beaten downe. The governor had order'd other musketeers to beate of those men that stood upon the top of the workes, which they fail'd of by shooting without good ayme, but the governor directed them better, and the Nottingham horse dismounting, and assailing with their pistols and headpieces, helpt the foote to beate them downe from the top of the worke, all except one stout man, who stood alone, and did wonders in beating downe the assailants, which the governor being angrie at, fetcht two of his owne musketeers and made them shoot, and he immediately fell, to the greate discouragement of his fellows. Then the governor himselfe first enter'd, and the rest of his men came in as fast as they could. But while his regiment was entering on this side, the Londóners were beaten of on the other side, and the maine force of the garrison turn'd upon him. The cavaliers had halfe moones within, which were as good a defence to them as their first workes; into these the souldiers that were of the queene's regiment were gotten, and they in the house shott out

of all the windores. The governor's men, assoone as they gott in, had taken the stables and all their horses, but the governor himselfe was fighting with the captaine of the papists and some others, who, by advantage of the halfe moone and the house, might have prevail'd to cutt of him and those that were with him, which were not many. The enimie being strengthen'd by the addition of those who had beaten of the assailants on the other side, were now trying their utmost to vanquish those that were within. The lieutenant-collonell, seeing his brother in hazard, made haste to open the draw-bridge, that Poyntz might come in with his horse, which he did, but not before the governor had kill'd that gentleman who was fighting with him, at whose fall his men gave way. Poyntz seeing them shoote from the house, and apprehending the king might come to their reliefe, when he came in, order'd that no quarter should be given. And here the governor was in greater danger then before, for the strangers hearing him call'd governor, were advancing to have kill'd him, but that the lieutenant-collonell, who was very watchful to preserve him all that day, came in to his rescue, and scarcely could persuade them, that it was the governor of Nottingham, be-

cause he, at the beginning of the storme, had put off a very good suite of armor that he had, which being muskett proof, was so heavy that it heated him, and so he would not be persuaded by his friends to weare aniething but his buffe coate. The governor's men, eager to compleate their victory, were forcing their entrance into the house, meanwhile Rossiter's men came and tooke away all their horses, which they had taken when they first enter'd the workes and wonne the stables, and left in the guard of two or three, while they were persuing their worke. The governor of Shelford, after all his bravadoes, came but meanelly of: 'tis sayd he sate in his chamber, wrapt up in his cloake, and came not forth that day; but that avail'd him not, for how, or by whom, it is not known, but he was wounded and stript, and flung upon a dunghill. The lieftenant-collonell, after the house was master'd, seeing the disorder by which our men were readie to murther one another, upon the command Poyntz had issued to give no quarter, desir'd Poyntz to cause the slaughter to cease, which was presently obey'd, and about seven score prisoners sav'd. While he was thus busied, enquiring what was become of the governor, he was shewn him naked upon the dunghill; where-

upon the lieutenant-collonell call'd for his owne cloake and cast it over him, and sent him to a bed in his owne quarters, and procur'd him a surgeon. Upon his desire he had a little priest, who had bene his father's chaplaine, and was one of the committee faction; but the man was such a pittifull comforter, that the governor, who was come to visitt him, was forc'd to undertake that office: but though he had all the supplies they could all wayes give him, he died the next day.* The

* Thoroton, in his history of Notts, says, "Shelford-house was a garrison for the king, and commanded by Col. Philip Stanhope, son of the first Earl of Chesterfield, which being taken by storm, he and many of his soldiers were therein slain, and the house afterwards burned; his brother Ferdinando Stanhope was slain some time before by a parliament soldier at Bridgford." This last happened in that skirmish with the bridge soldiers recited in page 53, where he is said only to be made prisoner.—Lady Catherine Hutchinson, who attested the remark to Col. Hutchinson her son-in-law's disadvantage, vol. i. page 254, was the sister of the Earl of Chesterfield, and of course aunt of Col. Stanhope, and as she takes no exception to it, we may safely give credit to this story of the storming of Shelford, with all its circumstances: a very interesting one it certainly is, and told in the most unaffected, and therefore most affecting, manner; the scene with which it finishes is surely as striking and as singular as any that story or imagination can furnish, not excepting the death of Le Fevre in the *Sentimental Journey*.

house which belong'd to his father the Earle of Chesterfield was that night burnt, none certainly knowing by what meanes, whether by accident or on purpose, but there was most ground to believe that the country people, who had been sorely infested by that garrison, to prevent the keeping it by those who had taken it, purposely sett it on fire. If the queene's regiment had mounted their horses and stood ready upon them, when our men enter'd, they had undoubtedly cutt them all off, but they standing to the workes, it pleas'd God to lead them into that path he had ordein'd for their destruction, who being papists, would not receive quarter, nor were they much offer'd it, being kill'd in the heate of the contest, so that not a man of them escap'd.

The next day our party went to Wiverton, a house of the lord Chaworth's, and that, terrified with the example of the other, yielded upon termes, and was by order pull'd downe and render'd incapable of being any more a garrison.

Poyntz now quarter'd all his horse in the townes about Newark, and in regard he had no peculiar regiment of his owne, the governor's regiment serv'd him for his guards. The Scotts alsoe came and quarter'd on the other side of the towne towards the north.

All that winter the governor lay at the Leaguer, and about Christmasse time writts were sent downe for new elections to fill up the parliament. There being a burgesseship voyd at Nottingham, the towne would needs, in a compliment, make the governor free, in order to an election of him for the parliament. Mr. Francis Pierrepont hearing this, writt to the governor to desire that he would rather come into his father's place in the county, and give him his assistance in this, as he should engage his owne and all his friends' interest for him in the county. The governor, who was ever readie to requite iniuries with benefitts, employ'd his interest in the towne to satisfie the gentleman's desire, and having very many that had voyces in his regiment, he sent for them all home the night before the day of election; which had like to have bene a very sad one, but that by the mercy of God, and the courage of Poyntz and the lieftenant-collonell and Capt. Poulton, it had not so bad event.* The New-

* A fair and honest acknowledgment of a considerable oversight! But this passage leads us to observe of what sort of people the parliament armies were composed, viz. the horse mostly of freeholders, the foot of burghers. It will not probably be thought beside the purpose to quote here Whitelock's description of Cromwell's own regiment, "He had a brave regiment of his countrymen, most of

arkers, hearing that so many of the regiment were away, fell into their quarters, and most of the men being surpriz'd, were rather endeavouring flight then resistance, when the lieutenant-collonell and Capt. Poulton rallied all they could find, lin'd some pales with musketeers, and beate the enemie againe out of the quarters, and Poyntz mounting with as many horse as were about him, which was very few, follow'd them in the night up to the very workes of Newark. Some losse there was in the quarters, but nothing considerable ; some souldiers ran away home, and brought the governor word they were all cut off, but his brother sent a messenger to acquaint him the contrary. Hereupon, immediately after the election, he return'd back again with his men. Not long after, the elections were made for the county, who all pitcht upon the governor, in his father's roome. White, whose envie never died, used all the endeavours he could to have hinder'd it,

“ them freeholders and freeholders' sons, and who upon
 “ matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel ; and thus
 “ being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own
 “ consciences, and without by good iron arms, they
 “ would, as one man, stand firmly and charge desperately.”
 These circumstances must be allowed their due weight,
 when we come to consider the right of the army to interfere in matters of state.

but when he saw he could doe no harme, with a sad heart, under a false face, he came and tooke his part of a noble dinner the new knights had provided for the gentlemen of the country. Without any competition Mr. Hutchinson had the first voyce, in the roome of his father, and Mr. Pigott the second, in the roome of Mr. Sutton, now a commissioner at Newark. About the same time Coll. Thornhagh was chosen burgesse for the towne of Retford; but none of them went up to their places in parliament till the siege of Newark was finisht.

Poyntz drew a line about the towne, and made a very regular entrenchment and approaches, in such a souldier-like manner as none of them who attempted the place before had done. Most of that winter they lay in the field, and the governor, carried on by the vigor and greatnesse of his mind, felt no distemper then by that service, which all his captaines and the souldiers themselves endur'd worse than he. Besides dayly and howerly providences, by which they were preserv'd from the enemy's cannons and sallies, there were some remarkable ones, by which God kept the governor's life in this leaguer. Once as Poyntz and he, and another captaine were riding to view some quarter of the towne, a cannon bul-

lett came whizzing by them, as they were riding all abrest, and the captaine, without any touch of it, sayd he was kill'd ; Poyntz bid him get of, but he was then sliding downe from his horse, slaine by the wind of the bullet : they held him up till they gott off from the place, but the man immediately turn'd black all over.

Another time the governor was in his tent, and by chance call'd out ; when he was scarce out of it, a cannon bullett came and tore up the whole tent, and kill'd the sentinell at the doore. But the greate perill, wherein all of the English side were, was the treachery of the Scotts, which they had very good reason to apprehend might have bene the cutting of of all that force. Sr. Thomas Fairfax had now besieg'd Oxford, and the king was stollen out of the towne and gone in disguise, no man knew whither, but at the length he came into the Scotts armie. They had before behav'd themselves very odly to the English, and bene taking sundrie occasions to pick quarrels, when at the last certeine news was brought to the English quarters that the king was come to the Scotts, and by them receiv'd at Southwell. The English could then expect nothing but that the Scotts, ioyning with those that were in Newark, would fall upon them, who were far inferior number to the other, and therefore

they all prepar'd themselves as well as they could to defend themselves in their trenches. The governor had then very fine horses at the Leaguer, which he sent home to the garrison ; but while they were in expectation of being thus fallen upon, the king had more mind to be gone, and because the Scotts knew not how to breake up their quarters while the towne was not taken, the king sent to my lord Bellasis, the governor of Newark, to surrender up the place immediately, which he did upon prettie handsome termes, but much discontented that the king should have no more regard to them who had bene so constant to his service.* The governor with his regiment was appoynted to receive the towne and the arms, and to quarter in it ; where now he went upon the greatest danger of all, for the towne was all over sadly infected with the plague ; yet it so pleased God that neither he nor any of these fresh men caught the infection, which was so raging there that it almost desolated the place.

Whether the king's ill councill or destinie led him, he was very failing in this action, for had he gone streight up to the parliament and

* Among the names of those who signed the capitulation on the part of the parliament (as it appears in Rushworth) are those of Col. Hutchinson and Col. Twissleton.

cast himselfe upon them, as he did upon the Scotts, he had in all probability ruin'd them, who were highly devided betweene the Presbyterian and Independent factions: but in putting himselfe into the hands of their mercenary Scotch armie, rather than the parliament of England, he shew'd such an embitter'd hate to the English nation, that it turn'd many hearts against him. The Scotts in this businesse were very false both to the parliament and the king. For them to receive and carrie away the king's person with them, when they were but a hired armie, without either the consent or knowledge of the parliament, was a very false carriage of them; but besides that, wee had *certaine evidences* that they were prepar'd, and had an intent to have cut of the English armie, who beleaguer'd Newark*, but that God changed their

* It has always been, and perhaps will always remain a mystery, what were the conditions or engagements on which the king relied in putting himself into the hands of the Scots. In Clarendon's State papers there are several letters from the French ambassador, persuading him to this measure, and undertaking for the Scots to give him effectual support; and the king wrote very positively to Ormond a letter, which was intercepted, and is produced by Rushworth, that the Scots had given him good security that they would join their forces to those of Montrose and the king's friends. On the other side, the general and committee of estates resident in the Scots

councells and made them take another course, which was to carrie the king to Newcastle,

army wrote, that "the king came privately into their camp, and that there had been no *treaty* nor *capitulation* with him by them, nor any in their names, and "that the assertion of the king in his letter to Ormond "was a *damnable untruth*." Heylin, in his *Hist. of Presbyter.* says, "The commissioners residing with the Scotch army, promised protection to the king and his friends, "but broke their promise and sold him for 200,000*l.* as "they would have done our Saviour for half the money." In another place he says, "Lowdon ranted to some tune "about the disgrace of selling the king; but however the "Presbyterians on both sides concluded the sinful bargain." Not to dwell upon what is elsewhere said on either side of the question, the symptoms of treachery discerned by Col. Hutchinson and others before and at the time of the king's arrival, give ample reason to conclude that the Scots were aware of his coming, and that either there were two parties, one of which was devoted to the king and the other not so, and that the latter was prevalent, or else that the whole expected from the king conditions which he was unwilling to perform, and principally the signing the covenant, the refusal of which they afterwards openly resented, and this might be that "change God is said to make in their counsels."

There is much less doubt as to the justice of Mrs. Hutchinson's reflection, that of all courses, that he took was the worst: she, who had a truly British heart, well knew what effect ingenuous confidence would have had on the parliament, with the virtues as well as vices of which she was well acquainted. The parliament had asked him to "come to them with a royal, not martial,

where they againe sold him to the parliament for a summe of monie.

The country now being clear'd of all the enemies garrisons, Collonell Hutchinson went up to London, to attend his duty there, and to serve his country, as faithfully, in the capacity of a senator, as he had before, in that of a souldier. When he came there, he found a very bitter spiritt of discord and envie raging, and the presbyterian faction, of which were most of those lords and others, that had been lay'd aside by the self-denying ordinance, endeavouring a violent persecution, upon the account of conscience, against those who had in so short a time accomlisht, by God's blessing, that victory which he was not pleas'd to bestow on them. Their directory of worship was at length sent forth for a three yeares triall, and such as could not conforme to it,

"attendance, and promised to receive him well." The last message passed on March 23, and in a few days after he went to the Scots army. *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* Those whom God destines to destruction he deprives of their understanding. Artifice, which was Charles's greatest fault, was likewise his ruin, and he fell not like a conquered prince, as *præda victoris*, a noble prize for the victor, but *pretium sceleris*, the object of a scandalous traffic, apprehended and sold as a culprit and fugitive; and forfeited his last resource, that respect and pity which the generous reserve for the unfortunate.

mark'd out with an evil eie, hated and persecuted under the name of Separatist.* Coll. Hutchinson, who abhorr'd that mallitious zeale and imposing spiritt which appeared in them, was soon taken notice of, for one of the independent faction†, [whose heads were accounted Pierrepont, Vane,

St. Johns, and some few other grandees, being men that excell'd in wisdome and utterance, and the rest believ'd to adhere to them, only out of faction, as if those who did not vaine-gloriously lay out themselves, without necessity, but chose rather to heare and vote, had had no understanding of right and wrong, but from the dictates of these great oracles.] Though, to speake the truth, they very little knew Coll. Hutchinson, that could say he was of any faction, for he had a strength of iudg-

* Mrs. Hutchinson differs from most of those who have written on the subject, respecting the rise and progress of the deadly feuds between the presbyterians and independents; but she differs not from the truth and reason. Certainly the most impartial historian is Rapin; but he, though a presbyterian, and labouring their defence, effects their condemnation. Vol. ii. p. 624., he says, "They thought themselves in slavery if themselves did not command." What need of more words?

† All that is contained between these two brackets had lines struck through it in the manuscript, and one of the names defaced.

ment able to consider things himselfe and propound them to his conscience, which was so upright that the veneration of no man's person allive, nor the love of the dearest friend in the world, could make him doe the least thing, without a full perswasion, that it was his duty so to act. He very well understood men's guifts and abilities, and honour'd those most, whom he believ'd to manage them with most uprightness of soule, for God's glory and the good of his country, and was so farre from envying the iust renowne any man acquir'd that he reioic'd in it. He never was any man's sectary, either in religious or civill matters, farther then he apprehended them to follow the rules of religion, honor, and virtue; nor any man's antagonist, but as he oppos'd that which appear'd to him iust and equall. If the greatest enemy he had in the world, had propounded anie thing profitable to the publick, he would promote it: whereas some others were to blame in that particular, and chiefly those of the presbyterian faction, who would obstruct any good, rather then those they envied and hated should have the glory of procuring it; the sad effects of which pride grew at length to be the ruin of the most glorious cause that ever was contended for. At the first many gentlemen, eminent in guifts

and acquirements, were as eminent in zealous improvement of them, for the advantage of God's and their countries interests, whereby they obtain'd iust glory and admiration among all good men ; but while the creature was so magnified, God, that was the principall author, was not look'd upon, and gave them therefore up to become their owne and other's idolls, and so to fall.

And now it grew to a sad wonder, that the most zealous promoters of the cause were more spitefully carried against their owne faithfull armies, by whom God had perfected their victory over their enemies, then against the vanquish'd foe ; whose restitution they henceforth secretly endeavour'd, by all the arts of treacherous, dissembling pollicy ; only that they might throw downe those whom God had exalted in glory and power to resist their tyrannicall impositions. At that time, and long after, they prevail'd not, 'till that pious people too began to admire themselves for what God had done by them, and to sett up themselves above their brethren, and then the Lord humbled them againe beneath their conquer'd vassalls.*

* To those, and they are not few, who, like Col. Hutchinson, believe the peculiar interposition of Providence, this remark of the punishment inflicted on those

So long as the armie only resisted unjust impositions, and remained firme to their first pious engagement, Mr Hutchinson adher'd to that party, which protected them in the parliament* house. His attendance there, chang-

who abused its gifts, will appear pleasing and edifying ; to those who admit only a general dispensation, the fall of each party successively by their own malversation, will seem a signal mark of justice ; by both, this chain of causes and effects will be acknowledged to be drawn by the hand of a master.

* This history, which, as far as it relates to publick affairs, is called only a Summary, will nevertheless be found to redress many errors in larger histories, and to open a great field for reflection : in none, perhaps, more than in this question of the right of the army to interfere with the conduct of parliament or business of the state : this is generally decided against them lightly and inconsiderately. The danger of admitting *armed* assemblies to *deliberate*, and the duty of a soldier to *obey*, but not *debate*, are very *boldly asserted* ; and as this doctrine suits the governors of every state, it will always be favoured ; but it goes on a *petitio principii*, a begging of the question that the military are the *hired servants* of the state : and military men have so far agreed to this unjust postulate, that they have consented to accept that which is a nickname, or term of reproach, as the generic one of their whole profession, viz. Soldier ; which is but a translation of the Italian *soldato*, mercenary or hireling. It has been repeatedly shewn how ill this term agreed with the parliament troops in general, being mostly volunteers and freeholders or burghers, and ill, or sometimes

ing his custome of life, into a sedentary employment, lesse suitable to his active spiritt, and more preiudiciall to his health, he fell

not at all paid. Were such to be considered as mere machines, as having forfeited all right to an opinion of their own, and bound to support that of others?—If so, then those who expected to maintain our constitution by putting arms into the hands of almost all whom patriotism or the preservation of their property animated to take them up, would have bereaved it of nearly all its defenders! With good right did these men, who had taken a pious engagement to God and their country, and most manfully acquitted themselves of it, call on the parliament to complete it by a happy settlement. Their several petitions and remonstrances, preserved in Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 4. & *infra*, shew that their views were just and rational, and such as have since in part been realized, in part are still wished for, viz. “the duration of parliaments to be limited; elections better regulated — the representation better distributed; improper privileges, and peculiarly that of being screened from creditors, given up; not bishops, but their coercive power and civil penalties taken away; the king restored to his rights (but with some restrictions as to appointments for ten years); the laws simplified, and lessened in expence; monopolies set aside; tythes commuted, &c. But all this was interrupted by the domineering party.” Who can help lamenting that there were not more found to unite with Col. Hutchinson and this army to perfect the best system of government that ever did or will exist?

These proposals of the army are supposed to have been penned by Ireton.

into a long and painefull sicknesse, which many times brought him neare the grave, and was not perfectly cured in foure yeares. The doctors could not find a name for it; but at the length resolv'd upon the running gout, and a cure, proper for that disease, being practis'd on him, tooke effect.

The truth is, his greates mind so far surmounted the frailty of his flesh, that it would never yield to the tendernesse of his constitution, nor suffer him to feele those inconveniences of martiall toyles, which often cast downe his captaines, men of more able bodies and healthfull complexions, while the business was in hand; but when that was finisht, he found, what he had not leisure to consider before, that his body's strength was farre un-equall to the vigor of his soule.

After the surrender of Newark, Nottingham towne and castle was continued a garrison for some time; between this and his greater employment at London, the governor divided himselfe. Meanwhile, upon the 15th day of July, 1646, propositions were sent to the king, then with the Scotts at Newcastle, little higher than those which had been made him at Uxbridge, but he wove out delayes, and would not assent to them, hoping a greater advantage by the difference betweene the two

nations, and the factions in the citie and parliament, which both he and all his party employ'd their utmost industry to cherish and augment. Both parliaments perceiving this, and nott yett sencelesse of approaching destruction, from the common enemy, began to be cemented by the king's averseness to peace, and to consider how to settle the kingdoms without him; and when they had agreed that the Scotts should deliver up the English garrisons for a certaine summe of mony, it fell into debate how to dispose of the king's person; where the debate was, not who should, but who should not have him. At the length, about January of the same yeare, two hundred thousand pounds was carried downe by part of the armie to Newcastle, and upon the payment of it, the Scotts deliver'd their garrisons to the souldiers, and the king to certaine commissioners of both houses of parliament, who conducted him honorably to his owne mannour of Holmby, in Northamptonshire.

During this time Sr. Thomas Fairfax himselfe lay at Nottingham, and the governor was sick in the castle. The generall's lady was come allong with him, having follow'd his camp to the siege of Oxford, and layne at

his quarters all the while he abode * there. She was exceeding kind to her husband's chaplains, independent ministers, till the armie return'd to be nearer London, and then the presbyterian ministers quite chang'd the lady into such a bitter aversion against them, that they could not endure to come into the generall's presence while she was there, and the generall had an unquiett, unpleasant life with her, who drove away from him many of those friends, in whose conversation he had found such sweetnesse. At Nottingham they had gotten a very able minister into the greate church, but a bitter presbyterian; him and his

* Here is another of those paradoxes, with which historians have perplexed themselves and their readers, reduced to a very plain tale. It is generally said and believed, that Fairfax was a presbyterian, and much wonder is expressed that he should have so faithfully (it is even said *too faithfully*) served the independents; but it is impossible that any-one could have a more clear and certain knowledge of his religious opinions than Col. and Mrs. Hutchinson had, and they declare his chaplains to have been *independent ministers*; nor does it appear that he ever *changed his opinion*, but only that he suffered himself to be over-ruled by his wife. Heroes as great as he have been, both before and since, under the same dominion; as Horace sets forth in his facetious ode to Xanthias Phoeceus, parodied by Rowe:

Ne sit ancillæ tibi amor pudori.

Do not, most fragrant earl, disclaim.

brethren my Lady Fairfax caress'd with so much kindnesse, that they grew impudent to preach up their faction, openly, in the pul-pitt, and to revile the others, and at length would not suffer any of the army chaplaines to preach in the towne. They then coming to the governor and complaining of their un-kind usage, he invited them to come and preach in his house, which when it was knowne they did, there was a great concourse of people came thither to them; and the pres-biterians, when they heard it, were madd with rage, not only against them, but against the governor, who accidentally gave them another occasion about the same time, a little before the general came. When formerly the presbyterian ministers had forc'd him for quietnesse sake to goe and breake up a private meeting in the cannoneer's chamber, there were found some notes concerning pædobaptisme, which being brought into the governor's lodgings, his wife having then more leisure to read then he, having perus'd them and compar'd them with the scriptures, found not what to say against the truths they asserted, concerning the misapplication of that ordinance to infants: but being then young and modest, she thought it a kind of virtue to submitt to the iudgement and practice of most churches,

rather then to defend a singular opinion of her owne, she not being then enlighten'd in that greate mistake of the nationall churches: but in this yeare she hap'ning to be with child, communicated her doubts to her husband, and desir'd him to endeavour her satisfaction; which while he did, he himselfe became as unsatisfied, or rather satisfied against it, First, therefore, he dilligently search'd the scriptures alone, and could find in them no ground at all for that practice; then he bought and read all the eminent treatices on both sides, which at that time came thick from the presses, and still was clear'd in the error of the pædobaptists. After this, his wife being brought to bed, that he might, if possible, give the religious party no offence, he invited all the ministers to dinner, and propounded his doubt, and the ground thereof to them. None of them could defend their practice with any satisfactory reason, but the tradition of the church, from the primitive times, and their maine buckler of federall holinesse, which Tombs and Denne had excellently overthrowne. He and his wife then, professing themselves unsatisfied in the practice, desir'd their opinions what they ought to doe. Most answer'd, to conforme to the generall practise of other Christians, how darke soever it were to themselves;

but Mr. Foxcraft, one of the assembly, say'd that except they were convinc'd of the warrant of that practise from the word, they sinn'd in doing it, whereupon that infant was not baptized.* And now the governor and his wife, notwithstanding that they forsooke not their assemblies, nor retracted their benevolences and civillities from them, yet were they revil'd by them, call'd fanaticks and anabaptists, and often glanc'd at it in their publick sermons. And not only the ministers, but all their zealous sectaries, conceiv'd implacable mallice against them, upon this account; which was carried on with a spiritt of envy and persecution to the last, though he, on his side, might well have said to them, as his Master to the old pharisees: "Many good workes have I done among you, for which of these do you hate me?" Yet the generallity, even of that people, had a secret conviction upon them, that he had bene faithfull to them, and deserv'd their love; and in spite of their owne bitter zeale, could not but have a reverent esteeme for him, whom they often rayl'd at, for not thinking and speaking according to their opinions.

* Surely this shews an unbecoming propensity to speculate in religion; the story is, however, told with candour.

This yeare Sr. Allen Apsley, governor of Barnstable for the king, after the surrender of that garrison came and retir'd to the governor's house till his composition with the parliament was compleated, the governor's wife being his sister, and the governor's brother having married the other sister: * and this was another occasion of opening the mouths of the malignants, who were ready to seize any one to his prejudice. Sr. Allen Apsley had not his articles punctually perform'd, by which he suffer'd greate expence and intollerable vexation, and the governor, no lesse concern'd in the iniustice done to him then if he had suffer'd it himselfe, endeavour'd to protect him only in that which was iust, and for this was call'd a cavalier, and sayd to have chang'd his party, and a thousand more iniuries, in which none were

* Amongst the discords and distraction, public and private, which must have harassed the reader's mind, it is soothing for a moment to contemplate the harmony which reigned within Col. Hutchinson's family, and the sincere friendship between them and Sir Allen Apsley, which will reappear on many and frequent occasions to the very close of his life. As this amiable man, and all that concerns him, must interest the reader nearly in an equal degree with the principal subject, there has been in the preface a pedigree and account given of his family till it merged in that of Bathurst.

so forward as those who had all the while bene disaffected to the whole parliament party, but after they were conquer'd, burying their spite against the cause in their owne bosome, suffer'd that secret fire to rise up in a black smoke against the most faithfull assertors of it.

When the commissioners went downe to fetch up the king from the Scotts, one of the lords coming to visitt the governor, and finding him at that time very sick, perswaded him to make use of one of the king's physitians that was with them, that was call'd Dr. Wilson, and was a very able physitian, but mistooke the method of his cure, and made issues in both his armes, which rather wasted his strength then his disease, and when he was cur'd were stopt up. That spring, growing a little better for the present, he went to London, and having ineffectually tried severall physitians, Sr. Allen Apsley perswaded him to make use of Dr. Frazier, with whom he began a course of physick, in the middst of which the doctor came and acquainted him that he was likely to be imprison'd upon suspicion of carrying on designes against the parliament underhand, for now the Scotts were threat'ning invasion and open warre: he profess'd his innocency with many protestations,

and desir'd Mr. Hutchinson to oblige him so farre as to engage for him that he manag'd no designe but his calling; which the collo-nell believing, undertooke for him to the committee of Derby-house; when the false Scott, having thus abus'd him, left a letter of lame excuse to him, and stole away out of England to the princes, then beyond the seas, leaving a blott upon Mr. Hutchinson for having undertaken for him: * but he, acknowledging his error to have bene so abus'd, was thereby warn'd from credulity of any of that false nation any more. That summer he attended the service of the house, being freed for a while from his distemper during the summer till the fall of the leafe that it return'd againe. In the meane time ielousies were sowne betweene the parliament, the citie of London, and the armie. The presbiterian faction were earnest to have the armie disbanded; the armie resented the iniurie, and being taught to vallue their owne meritt, petition'd the generall that they might be satisfied, not only in things relating to themselves particularly as an army, but the generall concernments and liberties of the good people of the nation,

* This Dr. Frazier was afterwards employed by Charles the Second to negotiate with the Scots.

which they had fought for. The presbyterians were highly offended at this, and declar'd it with such violence as gave the armie cause to encrease their iealousies. The souldiers, led on to it by one Cornet Joyce, tooke the king from Holmeby out of the parliament commissioners' hands, and carried him about with them. The parliament voted that the king should come to Richmond, attended by the same persons that attended him at Holmeby, but the armie, instead of obeying, impeach'd eleven members of the house of commons of high treason, and petition'd that those impeach'd members might be secluded the house, till they had brought in their answer to the charge; which being violently debated, they made a voluntary secession for six months. The generall also entreated that the king might not be brought nearer to London then they would suffer the army to quarter. So he was carried with them to Royston, Hatfield, Reading, and at last to Owborne, till about July 1647, when London grew into a tumult, and made a very rude violation upon the parliament house, which caused them to adiourn; when understanding the furie of the citizens, the greatest part of the members with the speaker withdrew and went to the armie,

among whom was Coll. Hutchinson. * The presbyterian members who stay'd behind chose new speakers, and made many new votes, and vigorously began to leavie forces to resist the armie, which were conducted by Massie and Poyntz. The parliament that was with the armie made an order against the proceedings of the members at London, and advanc'd with the generall, which when the citie heard of, their stomachs would not serve them to stand it out, but they sent commissioners, and, by the consent of the members with the generall, obtain'd a pacification, upon condition the city should disband all their new forces, deliver up their tower and their forts to the generall, and desert the members now sitting. They daring to denie nothing, the generall came triumphantly to Westminster, and brought back both the speakers and the

* As did fourteen peers, among them the earls of Manchester and Warwick, lords Say and Sele and Mulgrave, and one hundred commoners, and the palsgrave, or elector palatine, visited them. It would have been very seasonable to have offered to the consideration of both parties Horace's beautiful apologue of the Horse and the Stag.

Cervus equum bello melior, &c.

The calling in foreign aid to controul their antagonists proved equally destructive to both, but was begun by the Presbyterians.

members and putt them againe in their seates. The generall had solemne thankes from both houses, and then, with all his chiefe officers, marcht through the city, from the westerne parts of it to the Tower, where many commands were chang'd, the presbyterian party depress'd, and their generalls, Poyntz and Massie, with all the remaining officers of that faction, forc'd to retire, who most of them then chang'd their party, and never more appear'd on the parliament side. Yet was there still a presbyterian faction left in the house of such as were moderate, and not by the bitterness of their zeale carried out to breake their covenant with God and men, and renew a league with the popish interest to destroy that godly interest which they had at first so gloriously asserted. After this tumult at London was quieted, about August of that yeare, the king was brought to one of his stately pallaces at Hampton-court, neere London, and the armie remoov'd to quarters about the citie, their head-quarters being at Putney. The king, by reason of his dayly converse with the officers, began to be trinkling with them, not only then but before, and had drawne in some of them to engage to corrupt others to fall in with him: but to speake the truth of all, Cromwell was at that time soe un-

corruptibly faithfull to his trust and to the people's interest, that he could not be drawne in to practise even his own usuall and naturall dissimulations in this occasion. His sonne-in-law, Ireton, that was as faithfull as he, was not so fully of the opinion (till he had tried it and found to the contrary) but that the king might have bene manag'd to complie with the publick good of his people, after he could no longer uphold his owne violent will; but, upon some discourses with him, the king uttering these words to him, "I shall play my game as well as I can;" Ireton replied, "If your maiestie have a *game* to play, you must give us alsoe the liberty to play ours." Coll. Hutchinson privately discoursing with his cousin about the communications he had had with the king, Ireton's expressions were these; "He gave us words, and we pay'd him in his owne coyne, when we found he had no reall intention to the people's good, but to prevaile by our factions, to regaine by art what he had lost in fight."

The king liv'd at Hampton-court rather in the condition of a guarded and attended prince, than as a conquer'd and purchas'd captive: all his old servants had free recourse to him; all sorts of people were admitted to come to kisse his hands and doe him obeysance as a sove-

raigne. Ashburnham and Berkly, by the parliament voted delinquents, came to him from beyond the seas, and others by permission of the armie, who had hoped they might be usefull to encline him to wholesome counsell; but he, on the other side, interpreting this freedome wherein he was permitted to live not to the gentlenesse and reconcileablenesse of his parliament, who, after all his iniuries, yet desir'd his restitution, so farre as it might be without the ruine of the good people of the land, but rather believing it to proceed from their apprehension of their owne declining and his re-advancing in the hearts of the people, made use of this advantage to corrupt many of their officers to revolt from them and betrey them; which some time after they did, and pay'd the forfeiture with their lives.* When

* This is one of the places where we find reason to regret Mrs. Hutchinson's being so summary in her account of public affairs. This matter of endeavouring to bring the king to reason, and his perverting the good intentions of friends as well as foes, is treated much at length by Ludlow, in his first volume, from p. 194. to 204. and he agrees with Mrs. Hutchinson in most particulars; but it seems extraordinary that he should attribute a very considerable and active part in this business to Sir Allen Apsley, and his sister should make no mention of him in it. The candour and benevolence of Ireton, who is so generally represented as a cynick, are equally apparent in both places, as likewise are the obstinacy and duplicity of the king.

the king was at Hampton Court, the lords formerly of his privie counsell at Oxford alsoe repaired to him, to be as a counsell attending him, but this was so much disgusted at London that they retreated againe : but the Scotch lords and commissioners having free accesse to him, he drew that nation into the designe of the second warre ; which furiously brake out the next summer, and was one of the highest provocations which, after the second victory, brought him to the scaffold. But I shall respite that, to return to his affaires whom I principally trace.

After the parliament were by the generall restor'd to their seates, Collonell Hutchinson came downe to the garrison at Nottingham, which, the warre being ended, was reduc'd only to the castle, the workes at the towne and the bridges slighted, the companies of the governor's regiment, all but two, disbanded, and

If Ireton is by any supposed to have been too favourably represented by Mrs. Hutchinson, it will not be thought that he is likewise favoured by Walker in his Hist. of the Independ. ; yet, page 164., he reports thus. — Ireton said, the king had committed crimes enough to *depose and imprison him*, and crown the Duke of York, then a child, in his stead, (*not to kill the King*), and that if any thought their treatment of the King severe, they would applaud their clemency to the Duke of York.

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he thinking, now in a time when there was no opposition, the command not worthy of himself or his brother, gave it over to his kinsman, Capt. Poulton. With the assistance of his fellow parliament men, he procur'd an order from the parliament for five thousands pounds, that had bene leavied for the Scotch army, but which they, departing with too much hast, had not receiv'd, to be distributed among the officers and souldiers of his regiment that were at this time disbanded, in part of their arrears, and, that it might go the farther amongst them, himselfe had none of it.* The garrison at Nottingham being reduc'd, Coll. Hutchinson remoov'd his famely back to his owne house at Owthorpe, but found that, having stood uninhabited, and bene rob'd of every thing which the neighbouring garrisons of Shelford and Wiverton could carrie from it, it was so ruined that it could not be repair'd, to make a convenient habitation, without as much charge as would almost build another. By reason of the debt his publick employment had runne him into, not being able to doe this at present while all his arrears were unpay'd, he made a bad shift with it for that yeare. At this time his distemper of rheume was very sore upon him, and he so afflicted with paynes in his head,

* Nota bene.

which fell down alsoe with violent torture upon all his ioynts, that he was not able to goe for diuers weekes out of his chamber; and here wee had a notable example of the victorious power of his soule over his body. One day, as he was in the saddest torture of his disease, certeine horse came, somewhat insolently and iniuriously, exacting quarters or monies in the towne, whom he sent for, and telling them he would not suffer such wrong to be done to his tenants, they seeing him in so weake a condition, would not be perswaded to forbear violent and uniuert actions, but told him his government was expir'd, and they no more under his command; with which, and some other sawcy language, being provok'd to be heartily angrie, he felt not that he was sick, but started out of his chaire and beate them out of the house and towne, and return'd againe laughing att the wretched fellows and att himselfe, wond'ring what was become of his payne, and thinking how strangely his feebleness was cured in a moment: but while he and those about him were in this amazement, it was not halfe an hower before, as his spirits cool'd, that heate and vigour they had lent his members retir'd againe to their noble pallace, his heart; those efforts, wherein they had violently employ'd his limbs, made them more

weake then before, and his payne return'd with such redoubled violence that we thought he would have died in this fitt.

While he was thus distemper'd at home, Maior-general Ireton sent him a letter, with a new commission in it, for the resuming his government of Nottingham Castle, which the principall officers of the armie, foreseeing an approaching storme, desir'd to have in the same hand, wherein it had before bene so prosperously and faithfully preserv'd : but the Collo-nell sent them word, that as he should not have put his kinsman into the place, but that he was assur'd of his fidelity, so he would never ioyne with those who were so forgetfull of the merits of men, that had behav'd themselves well, as to discourteage them without a cause. Hereupon they suffer'd Capt. Poulton to remaine in his command ; but while the house was highly busie in faction, they tooke no care of any of the garrisons, especially of such as were likely to continue firme to the cause, the presbiterian faction having a designe to weaken or corrupt them all, that they might be prepar'd for the greate revolt from the parliament, which was now working in all countries. In Nottinghamshire, a brother of the Lord Biron's, Coll. Gilbert Biron, meeting Capt. Poulton, began to insinuate into him, and tempt him to

betray Nottingham castle ; which proposition, when he heard, he thought not fitt utterly to reiect, lest the castle, being then in a weake condition, and the souldiers discontented, some of his under officers might more readily embrace it and betrey both the place and him. He therefore tooke a little time to consider of it, and came to Coll. Hutchinson and acquainted him with it. He advised to hold his cousin Biron on in the treatie, 'till he himselfe could goe to London and provide for the better securing of the place, which, his distemper of health a little abating, he did : and when the place was well provided, Capt. Poulton, who was too gentle-hearted to cut of Mr. Biron under a pretence of assenting to him, sent to him to shift for himselfe, which Mr. Biron accordingly did ; and now the insurrection began everywhere to breake out.

In the meane time, some months before, when the king had layd the designe of the second warre with the Scotts, and employ'd all his art to bring the English presbiters to a revolt, and was now full of hopes to bring about *his game*, and conquer those who had conquered him, while he was amusing the parliament with expectations of a treaty, he privily stole away from Hampton Court by the assistance of Ashburnham and Berkley,

no man knew whither: but these wise men had so order'd their businesse, that instead of going beyond seas, which was his first intent, he was forc't to give himselfe up to Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, who immediately gave notice to the parliament, and they sent him thanks for his fidellity, and order'd that the king should be honorably attended and guarded there in Carisbrook Castle. The parliament were againe sending him propositions there, when they receiv'd a letter from him, urging that he might come to a personal treatie at London. Hereupon the two houses agreed on foure propositions to be sent him, to passe as bills; upon the passing of which, they were content he should come to a personall treatie for the rest. The foure propositions were, 1st. That a bill should passe for the settling the militia of the kingdome. 2dly, That all oaths, declarations, &c. against the parliament and their adherents should be call'd in. 3dly, That the lords made by the greates seale att Oxford, should not be capable of sitting in the house of peers thereby. 4thly, That the parliament may have power to adiourne, as the two houses think fitt. The Scotch commissioners oppos'd the sending these bills to the king, and urg'd his coming to a personall treaty at London.

The king understanding their mind and the factions in London, absolutely refus'd to signe them. Wherefore the houses debating upon the king's denial, at length these votes were pass'd by both houses on the 17th day of January: That they would make no more addresses, nor applications to the king. That no person whatsoever should make addresse or application to him. That whoever should breake this order, should incurre the penalty of high treason. That they would receive no more messages from the king, and that no person should presume to bring any to either house, or any other person. Upon these votes the armie put forth a declaration, promising to stand by the houses in them, which was sign'd by the generall and all his officers, at Windsor, Jan. 19, 1647. But in May following, first tumults began in London, then the Surrey men came with a very insolent petition, and behav'd themselves so arrogantly to the parliament, killing and wounding some of the guarda, that a troope of horse were fatcht from the Mewes, and were forc'd to kill some of them, before they could quiet them. After this, the parliament were inform'd of another insurrection in Kent, coming under the face of a petition, and sent out General Fairfax with seven regiments to suppressse them, who

persued them to Rochester. A greate company of these Kentish men were gotten together about Gravesend, with fiftene knights, and many commanders of the king's armie to head them, who, although they were more in number then Fairfax his men, yet durst not bide his coming. Some of them went to Dover Castle and besieg'd it, but the generall sent out Sr. Michael Livesey, who happily releiv'd that place and rays'd the siege; others went to Maidstone, and a few kept together about Rochester. The generall himselfe went to Maidstone, where two thousand of them were gotten into the towne, and resolv'd to keepe it; whom the generall assaulted, and with difficulty enter'd the towne, and fought for every streete, which were barricadoed against him and defended with cannon. Yett at length he kill'd two hundred, and tooke fourteene hundred prisoners. Foure hundred horse broke away to an army of their friends, bigger then Fairfax his, who saw the towne taken, yet had not the courage to engage against the generall, in the reliefe of it, but after they saw his victory dispers'd. The Lord Goring then having rallied about two thousand of these Kentish men, led them to Greenwich, from whence he sent to trie the affections of the Londoners; but while he stay'd there expecting their answer, some troopes of the armie

came, upon the sight of whom, he and his men fled. The Kentish men, most of them to their owne houses, himselfe, with about five hundred horse, getting boate, crosst the Thames into Essex, where the Lord Capel with forces out of Hertfordshire, and Sr. Charles Lucas with a body of horse at Chelmsford, ioyn'd him, to whom, in a short time, divers that had bene the king's souldiers, many Londoners, and other malignants, flocked in. Generall Fairfax, with part of his forces, crossed the Thames at Gravesend, and sending for all the rest out of Kent and London, pursued the enemies and drove them into Colchester, where he besieg'd them, and lay before them three months. At last, hearing of the defeate of Duke Hamilton and the Scotts, and other of the king's partizans, and being reduc'd to eating of horse-flesh, without hopes of reliefe, they yielded to mercy. The generall shott Sr. Charles Lucas, and Sr. George Lisle to death upon the place, and reserv'd Goring, Capell, and others, to abide the doome of the parliament. While Fairfax was thus employed in Kent and Essex, Langhorne, Powell, and Poyer, celebrated commanders of the parliament side, revolted with the places in their command, and gott a body of eight thousand Welchmen, whom Coll. Horton, with three thousand, encounter'd, vanquisht, routed and

tooke as many prisoners as he had souldiers; but Langhorne and Powell escaped to Poyer, and shut up themselves with him in Pembroke Castle, a place so strong that they refus'd all treaty; and thereupon were besieg'd by Lieutenant-generall Cromwell, to whom at length, after some months siege, it was surrender'd at the conqueror's mercy. In divers other countries, at the same time, were severall insurrections and revolts, but those of the parliament partie, as if they had lost courage and conscience att once, could no more behave themselves with that vallour which had before renown'd them, and were slaine or taken, loosing the places they had betray'd, to their old companions, whose fidellity was crown'd with successe every where. Among the rest Collonell Gilber Biron was risen, with other gentlemen of Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, and had gotten together about five hundred horse; wherewith, after he fail'd of his hopes of corrupting the Governor of Nottingham, they intended to goe and ioyn themselves with others that were up in other countries: and this was so suddenly and secretly done, that they were upon their march before the rising was suspected. The Governor of Nottingham had not time enough to send a messenger to be before them with Coll.

Hutchinson at his house, therefore shott of a piece of cannon, which Coll. Hutchinson hearing as he satt at dinner, and believing some extraordinary thing to be in it, commanded horses to be made ready, and went to Nottingham; but mett the messenger, who came to give him notice of the enemies approach. The newes being sent home in hast, his arms and writings, and other things of vallue, were put in a cart and sent away; which was not long gone but the enemy march'd by the house, and keeping their body on a hill at the towne's end, only sent a party to the house to fetch them what provisions of meate and drinke they found there, besides which, they tooke nothing but a groom with two horses, who being ridden out to ayre them, fell into their mouths, because he could not be readily found when the rest of the horses were sent away. The reason why no more mischief was done by the cavaliers to his famely, at that time, was partly because Coll. Gilbert Biron had commanded not to disturbe them, if he were not there, and partly because they were so closely pursued by the Lincolnshire troopes, that they could not stay to take, nor would burthen themselves with plunder, now they saw it unlikely to gett off without fighting. This they did the next day att Willoughby within three miles of Ow-

thorpe, and were there totally routed, kill'd, and taken, by a party under Coll. Rossiter's command, by whom Coll. Biron was carried prisoner to Belvoir Castle. There being in distress, although he was an enemy, and had dealt unhandsomely with Coll. Hutchinson, in endeavouring to corrupt one for whom he was engag'd, yett the Collonell sent him a summe of mony for his present reliefe, and after procur'd him a release and composition with the parliament. The greatest of all these dangers seem'd now to be in the north, where Duke Hamilton's faction being prevalent in Scotland, he had rays'd an armie, and was march'd into England. Sr. Marmaduke Langdale and Glenham, having already rays'd some men in those parts, whom Lambert, with the assistance of some Lincolneshire forces, ioyn'd to his Yorkshire brigade, kept in play: but they reserv'd themselves to ioyne with Hamilton. Argyle, and others of the kirk party, protested against him, and many of the ministers curs'd his attempt, but were silenc'd for it, although God heard them. The presbiterians in London secretly pray'd for his successe, and hardly could the house of lords be brought to ioyne with the house of commons, in voting all the English traytors, that should ioyne with the Scotts, which yett at the last they did.

Coll. Hutchinson having bene about this time at London, and wanting a minister for the place where he lived, and for which he had procur'd an augmentation, repair'd to some eminent ministers in London*, to recommend a worthy person to him for the place. They, with a greate testimoniall, preferred a Scotchman to him, whom the Collonell brought downe; but having occasion to be with the committee at Nottingham, to take order for the security of the county in these dangerous times; while he was out the man made strange prayers in the famely, which were coucht in darke expressions; but Mrs. Hutchinson understanding them to be intended for the prosperous successe of those who were risen against the parliament, and of his nation, that were coming to invade ours, told her husband at his returne, that she could not beare with nor ioyne in his prayers. The next day, being the Lord's Day, the Collonell heard his sermon, which was so spiritlesse and so lamentable, that he was very much vext the ministers should have put such a man to him;

* This entirely contradicts the opinion so generally propagated and believed, that all the Independents were so fanatical as to decry and lay aside all regular ministry, and to give themselves up to the guidance of self-created teachers, pretending inspiration, *i. e.* impostors.

withall he publickly made the same prayers he utter'd in the famely for the successe of the Scotts; wherenpon, after dinner, the Collonell tooke him aside, and told him that he had done very sinfully to undertake an office to which he was so ill giufted, and desir'd him to depart in peace againe the next day, and to forbear any further employment in his house. The man at first was very high, and told the Collonell he was there by authority of parliament, and would not depart; the Collonell then dealt high with him, and told him he would declare to them the expressions of his prayers, and so confounded the man, that he besought him to have pitie, and confest that he was fled from his owne country for having bene of Montrosse's party, and that covetousnesse, against his conscience, had drawne him to dissemble himselfe to be of the parliament's principle, but that God had iudg'd him for his hipocricie, and withdrawne his spirit from him, since he practis'd it; and submitted himselfe to goe quietly and silently away, begging it as a favour of the Collonell that he would permitt him so to doe. He did it with such a counterfeit sorrow and conviction, that the Collonell, being of a most placable nature, freely forgave him, and sent him not away empty, for he had fiftene pounds

for only a fortnight's service ; yet this rogue, before he went out of the country, went to the presbiters at Nottingham, and told them his conscience would not permit him to stay in the Collonell's house, because he and his wife were such violent sectaries, that no orthodox man could live comfortably with them ; and this scandall those charitable priests were ready to receive and more largely spread it. They themselves, with divers of their zealous disciples, whom they had perverted, among whom were Coll. Francis Pierrepont, Captaine Rosse, White, Chadwick, and many others, were watching opportunity to breake their covenant and rise against that parliament, under which they had serv'd and sworne to assist them, till all delinquents, as well greater as lesse, were brought to condigne punishment.

At London things were in a very sad posture, the two factions of presbitery and independency being so engaged to suppress each other, that they both left of to regard the publick interest, insomuch that att that time a certeine sort of publick-spirited men stood up in the parliament and the armie, declaring against these factions and the ambition of the grandees of both, and the partiallity that was in these dayes practis'd, by which greate men were privell'dg'd to doe those things which

meaner men were punish'd for, and the injustice and other crimes of particular members of parliament, rather cover'd then punish'd; to the scandall of the whole house. Many got shelter in the house and armie against their debts, by which others were defrauded and undone. The lords, as if it were the chiefe interest of nobillity to be licenc'd in vice, claim'd many prerogatives, which sett them out of the reach of common iustice, which these good-hearted people would have equally to belong to the poorest as well as the mighty; and for this and such other honest declarations, they were nicknamed Levellers. Indeed as all vertues are mediums, and have their extreames, there rose up after in that name a people, who endeavour'd the levelling of all estates and quallities, which these sober levellers were never guilty of desiring, but were men of iust and sober principles, of honest and religious ends, and therefore hated by all the designing self-interested men of both factions. Coll. Hutchinson had a great intimacy with many of these; and so far as they acted according to the iust, pious, and publick spiritt which they profess'd, own'd them and protected them, as farre as he had power. These were they who first began to discover the ambition of Lieftenant-general

Cromwell and his idolaters, and to suspect and dislike it. About this time, he was sent downe, after his victory in Wales, to encounter Hamilton in the north. When he went downe the chiefe of these levellers following him out of the towne, to take their leaves of him, receiv'd such professions from him, of a spiritt bent to persue the same iust and honest things that they desird, as they went away with greate satisfaction, 'till they heard that a coachfull of presbiterian priests comming after them, went away no lesse pleas'd; by which it was apparent he dissembled with one or the other, and by so doing lost his creditt with both.

When he came to Nottingham, Coll. Hutchinson went to see him, whom he embrac'd with all the expressions of kindnesse that one friend could make to another, and then retiring with him, prest him to tell him what thought his friends, the levellers*, had of him. The Col-

* The information Mrs. Hutchinson gives us on this subject is curious and valuable, but differs from the tradition generally received respecting the Levellers; it is however well supported by Walker in his Hist. of Independ. He begins with describing two Juntos of Grandees, and calls the rest the common people of the house; the former only feigned opposition, but played into one another's hands, the latter were sincere and earnest in it: he speaks of the *honest middlemen*, the same as Mrs. H. calls

Jonell, who was the freest man in the world from concealing truth from his friend, espe-

by that name, and likewise *levellers*; he declares Level-
lers and Assertors of Liberty to be synonymous terms: in
a variety of places they are treated as the only sincere
patriots and opposers of the selfish schemes of the gran-
dees of both parties, peculiarly the Independents, and above
all, of Cromwell; and the Engrossers and Monopolizers
of Oligarchy, desiring to make themselves a Corporation
of Tyrants, are said chiefly to dread the opposition of
these levellers; but the most remarkable passage is p. 194.

—"Reader, let me admonish thee that the Levellers,
for so they are miscalled, only for endeavouring to level
the exorbitant usurpations of the Councell of State and
Councell of Officers, are much abused by some books
lately printed and published in their names, much differ-
ing from their declared principles, tenets and practices,
but forged by Cromwell and others to make the sheep
(the People) betray the Dogs that faithfully guard them."
The mode here and before taken by Col. Hutchinson of
readily adopting a name which was intended him for a
reproach, was certainly the best way of disarming it of
its sting. The principles held by that party of the level-
lers which he supported; none venture openly to oppose;
but try to attach to them the absurd extreme of those he
blames; the modern philosophers, who have stated that
all men have equal rights, but to unequal things, have
not met with a much more candid construction. The
abuses Col. Hutchinson complained of, especially that of
the privilege of parliament, have since been a little dimi-
nished; but many families still continue to be defrauded
and undone by the shelter which members of parliament
find from their debts, and which seems long likely to con-
tinue a defect in our legislature, and a reproach to our

cially when it was requir'd of him in love and plainnesse, not only told him what others thought of him, but what he himselfe conceiv'd; and how much it would darken all his glories, if he should become a slave to his owne ambition, and be guilty of what he gave the world iust cause to suspect, and therefore begg'd of him to weare his heart in his face, and to scorne to delude his enemies, but to make use of his noble courage, to maintaine what he believ'd iust, against all greate oposers. Cromwell made mighty professions of a sincere heart to him,

moral. Among a number of pamphlets published in Mr. Hutchinson's time, one was found at Owthorpe, setting forth the views and desires of these inferior levellers. They therein stated, that they were willing to acknowledge the proprietors of lands, and principally the lords of manors, as their elder brothers, and rightfully possessed of the chief inheritance; but prayed to be allowed to cultivate the wastes and commons for their support. Whether the permitting and even encouraging this under moderate reservations might not have been conducive to the public good, is a question which seems to have been decided in the affirmative by the practice of the French under the ancient government: a great share of the lands in every parish having been thus granted out, and cultivated by small proprietors, who paid what was called *champarts*, fieldings or tythes, being seven in the hundred; the industry and population this produced is felt by all Europe. The abrogating these payments to the lords, was one of the grand incitements to, and crimes of, the revolution.

but it is certaine that for this and such like plaine dealing with him, he dreaded the collonell, and made it his particular businesse to keep him out of the armie; but the collonell never desiring command to serve himselfe, but his country, would not use that art he detested in others, to procure himselfe any advantage.

At this time Coll. Thornhagh marcht with Cromwell, and at his parting with Coll. Hutchinson, tooke such a kind leave of him, with such deare expressions of love, such brotherly embraces, and such regrett for any rash iea-lousies he had bene wrought into, that it tooke greate impression in the colonell's kind heart, and might have bene a presage to him that they should meet no more, when they parted with such extraordinary melting love; but that Coll. Hutchinson's chearfull and constant spiritt never anticipated any evill with feare. His prudence wanted not foresight that it might come, yet his faith and courage enter-tein'd his hope, that God would either prevent, or help him to beare it.

This summer the revolt was not greater at land then at sea. Many of the greate ships sett the vice-admiral on shore, and sail'd towards Holland to Prince Charles: to whom the Duke of Yorke was come, having, by his

father's advice, privately stolen away from London, where the parliament had receiv'd and treated him like a prince, ever since the surrender of Oxford. To reduce these revolted ships, and preserve the rest of the navie from the like, the Earle of Warwick was made lord high admirall of England. But at the same time his brother the Earle of Holland, who had floated up and downe with the tide of the times, rose alsoe against the parliament, and appear'd in armes, with the young Duke of Buckingham and Lord Francis Villars his brother, and others, making about five hundred horse, at Kingston upon Thames. Here some of the parliament troopes, assailing them before they had time to grow, they were totally routed and disperst. The Lord Francis Villars was slaine; the Earle of Holland, flying with those he could rally, was fought with at S. Neots, Dalbier and others of his associates slaine, and himselfe taken prisoner and carried to Warwick Castle. Buckingham fled, and at last gott beyond seas, with a blott of base ingratitude and treachery, which began then to appeare, and hath since markt out all his life. For these two lords being pupills, and under the king's tuition, were carried with him to Oxford, where they remained till the rendition of the

place, and then coming to London, in regard they were under age, had all their father and mother's greates estates, freely, without any sequestration or composition, and while they enioy'd them, their secret intentions of rising being discover'd to the parliament, the parliament would not secure them, as some advis'd, but only sent a civill warning to the Duke, minding him how unhandsome it would be, if the information should prove true; whereupon the Duke protested he had no such intention, but utterly detested it, making all the expressions of iust gratitude to them that could be, and yet, within very few days after, openly shew'd himselfe in armes, to tell the world how perfidious an hipocrite he was; for which the parliament exempted him from pardon, and ever after detested his name, as one that rose only to fall into contempt and obloquie.

; And now was Cromwell advanc'd into Lancashire, where Lambert retreating from the invading Scotts, ioyn'd with him and made up an armie of about ten thousand; which were but few to encounter five and twenty thousand, led by Hamilton, Langdale, and other English ioyn'd with them. Yett neere Preston, in Lancashire, they fought, and Cromwell gain'd an entire victory, about the

end of August, and had the chase of them for twenty miles, wherein many fell, and many were taken prisoners. Hamilton himself, with a good party of horse, fled to Uttoxeter, and was there taken by the Lord Grey. But, in the beginning of this battle, the valliant Coll. Thornhagh was wounded to death. Being at the beginning of the charge on a horse as couragious as became such a master, he made such furious speed, to sett upon a company of Scotch lancers, that he was singly engaged and mortally wounded, before it was possible for his regiment, though as brave men as ever drew sword, and too affectionate to their collonell, to be slack in following him, to come time enough to breake the furie of that body, which shamed * not to unite all their force against one man: who yet fell not among them, but being faint and all covered with blood, of his enemies as well as his owne, was carried of by some of his owne men, while the rest, enrag'd for the losse of their deare collonell, fought not that day like men of humane race: deafe to the cries of every coward that ask'd mercy, they kill'd all, and would not a captive should live to see their collonell die;

* Shamed not, used neutrally instead of were not ashamed, blushed not.

but say'd the whole kingdome of Scotland was too meane a sacrifice for that brave man. His soule was hovering to take her flight out of his body, but that an eager desire to know the successe of that battle, kept it within, till the end of the day, when the newes being brought him, he clear'd his dying countenance, and say'd, " I now reioyce to die, since God hath lett me see the overthrow of this perfidious enemy; I could not lose my life in a better cause, and I have the favour from God to see my blood aveng'd." So he died, with a large testimony of love to his souldiers, but more to the cause, and was by mercy remoov'd that the temptations of future times might not prevaile to corrupt his pure soule. A man of greater courage and integritie fell not nor fought not in this glorious cause; he had also an excellent good nature, but easie to be wrought upon by flatterers, yett as flexible to the admonitions of his friends; and this virtue he had, that if sometimes a cunning insinuation prevail'd upon his easie faith, when his error was made knowne to him, notwithstanding all his great courage, he was readier to acknowledge and repaire, then to persue his mistake.* Coll. Thornhagh's regiment in the

* The valour of this gentleman seems to have been a favourite topic of admiration and praise among his brother

reducing of the garrison forces, had one Maïor Saunders (a Derbieshire man, who was a very godly, honest, country gentleman, but had not many things requisite to a greate souldier) assign'd them for their maior, and with him he brought in about a troope of Derbieshire horse; but the Nottinghamshire horse, who certainly were as brave men as any that drew swords in the armie, had bene animated in all their service, by the dear love they had to their collonell, and the glorie they tooke in him, and their generous spiritts could not take satisfaction in serving under a less man, which they all esteem'd their maior to be; but rememb'r-ing their successes under Coll. Hutchinson, and severall other things that moov'd them to pitch their thoughts upon him, the captaines addrest themselves to Cromwell, and acquaint-

warriors. In Cromwell's letter (preserved by Whitelock) wherein he gives an account of his victory, he laments "the death of this *too brave gentleman*." Ladlow is full in his praises of him, and adds a very picturesque circumstance; "that as he lay wounded among his soldiers, he made them open to the right and left, that he might see the enemy run." But it is doubtful whether at any time the pencil or the pen has consecrated any thing to the memory of a departed chief, so animated, so appropriate, as this character and description, which we may surely say Mrs. Hutchinson conceived in the very spirit that her hero lived and flourished, fought and fell.

ed him with the discouragement and sorrow they had by the death of their collonell, for whom nothing could comfort them, but a successor equal to himselfe, which they could not hope to find, so as they might in the person of Coll. Hutchinson, with whose worth and courage they were well acquainted, and he was now out of employment: the only difficulty was, whether he would accept the command or noe, which they hoped to prevaile in, if he would oblige them by sending to Lord Fairfax, to stop all other wayes that might be thought of for disposing it, till they could know whether Coll. Hutchinson would accept it, for which they had prepar'd a messenger to send to his house. Cromwell, with all the assentation imaginable, seem'd to reioyce they had made so worthy a choyce, and promis'd them to take care the regiment should not be dispos'd of, till they receiv'd Coll. Hutchinson's answer; whereupon the captaines severally writt to Coll. Hutchinson, with most earnest entreaties, that he would give them leave to procure a commission for him to conduct them, which the lieft. general had already promis'd to send for, if he pleas'd to accept it.

The collonell, though he had more inclination at that time, by reason of the indisposition

of his health, to rest, yet not knowing whether the earnest desires of his countrymen were not from a higher call, writt them word that he preferr'd the satisfaction of their desires before his owne, and if the commission came to him to be their leader, he would not refuse it, though he should not doe anie thing himselfe to seeke any command. Meanwhile Cromwell, as soone as the Nottinghamshire men had imparted their desires to him, sent for Saunders, and caiolling him, told him, none was so fitt as himselfe to command the regiment, but that the regiment thought not all of them soe, but were designing to procure themselves another collonell, which he advis'd him to prevent, by sending speedily to the generall, to whom Cromwell also writt to further the request, and before the messenger came back from Owthorpe procur'd the commission for Saunders. When it came, he us'd all his art to perswade the captaines to submitt to it, and to excuse himselfe from having any hand in it; but they perceiv'd his dissimulation, and the troopes were so displeas'd with it, that they thought to have flung downe their arms; but their captaines perswaded them to rest contented 'till the present expedition were over. But they had not only this cheate and disap-

ham captaines were pass'd over, and a less deserving man made maior of the regiment. The new collonell and maior made it their bu-sinesse to discountenance and affront all that had shew'd any desire of Coll. Hutchinson, and to wearie them out, that they might fill up their roomes with Derbieshire men; but as soone as they gott to London, all that could otherwise dispose of themselves, went voluntarily of; and the rest that were forc'd to abide, hated their commanders, and liv'd discontentedly under them. The reasons that induc'd Cromwell to this, were two: first, he found that Coll. Hutchinson understood him, and was too generous either to feare or flatter him; and he carried, though under a false face of friendship, a deepe resentment of the collonell's plaine dealing with him at Nottingham. He had besides a designe, by insinuating himselfe into Coll. Saunders, to flatter him into the sale of a towne of his call'd Ireton, which Cromwell earnestly desired to buy for Maior General Ireton, who had married his daughter, and when at last he could not obtaine it, in process of time, he tooke the regiment away from him againe.* Coll. Hutchinson was not at all dis-

* This gentleman is mentioned in Granger's Biography: and there is a print of him in the hands of some curious

poynment by Cromwell, but all the Nottinghamshire men were not given to him, but highly resented it that the men were ill us'd for their affections to him; and was sorrie that this particular carriage of Cromwell's gave him such a prooffe of other things suspected of him, so destructive to the whole cause and party, as it afterwards fell out.

Sr. Marmaduke Langdale, after the rout of Hamilton, came with two or three other officers, to a little alehouse, which was upon Coll. Hutchinson's land, and there was so circumstance, that some country fellowes, who saw them by chance, suspecting they were no ordinary travellers, acquainted Mr. Widmerpoole, who liv'd within two or three miles, and had bene maior to the collonell in the first war: whereupon he came forth, with some few others, and sent downe to the collonell to acquaint him that some suspicious persons were at the lodge. The collonell, hearing of it, tooke his servants out, and was approacht near the house, when Maier Widmerpoole, being beforehand in the house, had given Langdale some iealousie that

collectors, peculiarly of John Townely, Esq. He is said to be of Ireton, in Derbyshire; but Ireton is believed to be in the Vale of Belvoir.

he might be surpriz'd, therefore one of his company went out to fetch out his horses, which were stopp'd for the present, and they seeing the collonell comming up towards them, render'd themselves prisoners to Maior Widmerpoole, and were sent to Nottingham Castle, where they continued some months, till at last Langdale finding an oportunity, corrupted one of the guard, who furnisht him with a souldier's disguise, and ran away with him. The maior, who had bene baffled by these persons, if the collonell had not come in, had all the booty, which the collonell never tooke share of anie where : but the maior thinking the best of his spoyles iustly due to him, presented him with a case of two very fine pistolls, which he accepted.

About this time the gentlemen that were commissioners for the king at Newark, fell into disputes one with another ; nor only soe, but suites were commenc'd in the chancery upon this occasion. One Atkins, and several other rich men at Newark, when that garrison began to be fortified for the king, lent certaine summes of mony, for the carrying on of that worke, to the commissioners of array, for which those gentlemen became bound to the Newarkers. After the taking in of that towne

by the parliament, they, as other persons, coming in within the sett time, were admitted to composition. Having bene so cunning as to put out their money in other names, they ventur'd to leave out these summes, believing they were putt into such sure hands, that it would never be discover'd. Mr. Sutton, Sr. Thomas Williamson, Sr. John Digby, Sr. Gervas Eyre, the Lord Chaworth, Sr. Thomas Blackwell, Sr. Roger Cowper, Sr. Richard Biron, and others, had given bond for this money, which Mr. Sutton presenting to the king, as a summe that *he* had rais'd to signalize his loyalty; the king, to reward him, made him a baron. The whole summe thus taken up for the king's service, was eight or ten thousand pounds; fifteen hundred of it, that was lent by Atkinson, being demanded, would have bene pay'd, but they would not take the principal without the interest. Sr. Thomas Williamson was openly arrested for it in Westminster Hall; upon which Mr. Sutton and he, being madded, put in a bill in chancery against Atkinson and others, praying that they might sett forth to what ends and uses this money was lent to the sayd gentlemen, &c. &c.

The parliament had made a law, that all estates of delinquents, conceal'd and uncom-

pounded for, should be forfeited, one halfe to the state, and the other halfe to the discoverer, if he had any arrears due to him from the parliament, in payment of them. There were clearkes and sollicitors, who in those days made a trade of hunting out such discoveries, and making them knowne to such as had any arrears due to them. Coll. Hutchinson att that time had receiv'd no pay at all. One of the clearkes of that committee, which was appoynted for such discoveries, sent him word that two officers of the armie were upon this chancery bill, endeavouring to make a discoverie of certeine conceal'd monies in Nottinghamshire, which being his owne country, he thought might be more proper for him. Coll. Hutchinson, who had never any mind to disadvantage any of the gentlemen of the country, demurr'd upon this information, and did nothing in it, till some came to him, intimating a desire of my Lord Lexington's, that the collonell would pitch upon that for the payment of his arrears, that so they might fall into the hands of a neighbour, who would use them civilly rather then of a stranger. After that the collonell was thus invited by the gentlemen themselves, to pitch upon this mony, he wav'd all the rest, and only enter'd as his

discoverie, that mony which these townsmen of Newark had lent, and upon full search and hearing att the committee, the mony was found to be forfeited mony, and the debtors were order'd to pay it into the committee, and Coll. Hutchinson had alsoe an order to receive his arreare from that committee of Haberdasher's Hall. Hereupon Sr. Thomas Williamson and Lord Lexington, who being the men of the best estates, were principally lookt upon for the debt, applied themselves to Coll. Hutchinson, begging as a favour that he would undertake the management of the order of sequestration, given out upon their estates, and would alsoe oblige them, by bringing in severall other gentlemen, that were bound to bear proportionable shares. The collonell, to gratify them, gott the order of sequestration, and brought them to an accommodation, wherein every man, according to his ability, agreed upon an equall proportion; and the gentlemen, especially Mr. Sutton, acknowledg'd a very greate obligation to the collonell, who had brought it to so equall a composition among them; and then, upon their owne desires, the order of sequestration was lay'd upon their estates, but managed by one of their owne bayliffes, only to free them from inconveniences, that otherwise

would have come upon them. Some of them made use of it to get in arrears of rent, which they knew not how elce any way to have gotten, and for which att that time they pretended the greatest sence of gratitude and obligation imaginable. The collonell alsoe procur'd them dayes of payment, so that whereas it should have been pay'd this Michaelmasse 1648, it was not pay'd till a yeare after, and for these and many other favours in this occasion, was then court-ed as their patrone, though afterwards this civillity had like to have bene his ruine. And now, about Michaelmasse 1648, he went to attend his duty att the parliament, carrying his whole family with him, because his house had bene so ruined by the warre that he could no longer live in it, 'till it were either repair'd or new built. On coming to London, he himselfe fell into his old distemper of rheume, with more violence than ever, and being weary of those phisitions he had so long, with so little successe, employ'd, he was recommended to a young doctor, sonne to old Dr. Rudgeley, whose excellence in his art was every where knowne, and his sonne being a very ingenious person, and considering himselfe, and consulting with his father, believ'd that all the other phisitions

who had dealt with him, had mistaken his disease, which he finding more truly out, in a short space perfectly cur'd him of the gowt, and restor'd him, by God's blessing on his endeavours, to such a condition of health as he had not enjoy'd for two yeares before. When he was well againe to attend the house, he found the presbyterian party so prevalent there, that the victories obtain'd by the army displeas'd them, and so hot they grew in the zeale of their faction, that they from thenceforth resolv'd and endeavour'd to close with the common enemy, that they might thereby compass the destruction of their independent brethren. To this end, and to strengthen their faction, they gott in again the late suspended members; whereof it was say'd, and by the consequence appear'd true, that Mr. Hollis, during his succession, had bene in France, and there meeting with the queene, had pieced up an ungodly accommodation with her: although he were the man that, when at the beginning, some of the soberer men, who foresaw the sad issues of warre and victorie on either side, were labouring an accommodation, openly in the house say'd, "He abhorr'd that word Accommodation." After these were gotten in againe, and encourag'd by the presbyterian ministers and the people in the city, they procur'd a re-

vocation of the votes formerly made, with such convincing reasons publickly declar'd for the same, why they had resolv'd of no more addresses to be made to the king. And now nothing was agitated with more violence than a new personall treaty with honor and freedom; and even his coming to the city, before any security given, was labour'd for, but that prevail'd not. Such were the heates of the two parties, that Mr. Hollis challeng'd Ireton, even in the house; out of which they both went to have fought, but that one who sate neere them overheard the wicked whisper, and prevented the execution of it.*

Amidst these things, at last a treaty was sent to the king, by commissioners, who went from both houses, to the Isle of Wight, and although there were some honorable persons in this commission, yett it cannot be denied but that they were carried away by the other, and concluded, upon most dangerous termes, an agreement with the king. He would not give up bishops, but only lease out their revenues; and upon the whole, such were the termes upon which the king was to be restor'd, that the whole cause was evidently given up to him. Only one thing he assented to, to

* Clarendon pretends Ireton would not fight.—Surely Ludlow knew him best, and he says he would!

acknowledge himselfe guilty of the blood spilt in the late warre, with this proviso, that if the agreement were not ratified by the house, then this concession should be of no force against him.* The commissioners that treated with him had bene caiol'd and biassed with the promises of greate honors and offices to every one of them, and so they brought back their treaty to be confirm'd by the houses; where there was a very high dispute about them, and they sate up most part of the night, when at length it was voted to accept his concessions, the dissenting party being fewer than the other that were carried on in the faction. Coll. Hutchinson was that night among them, and being convinc'd in his conscience that both the cause, and all those who with an upright honest heart asserted and maintain'd it, were betrey'd and sold for nothing, he addrest himselfe to those commissioners he had most honourable thoughts of, and urg'd his reasons and apprehensions to them, and told them that the king, after having bene exasperated, vanquish't, and captiv'd, would be restor'd to that power, which was inconsistent with the liberty of the

* Certainly there are many strange things to be found in the history of diplomacy, but perhaps none so strange as that an assertion should be admitted to be *provisionally true*.

people, who for all their blood, treasure, and misery, would reape no fruite, but a confirmation of bondage, and that it had bene a thousand times better, never to have struck one stroke in the quarrell, then, after victory, to yield up a righteous cause; whereby they should not only betrey the interest of their country and the trust repos'd in them, and those zealous friends who had engag'd to the death for them, but be false to the covenant of their God, which was to *extirpate prelacy* not to *lease* it*. They acknowledg'd to him that the conditions were not so secure as they ought to be; but in regard of the growing power and insolence of the army, it was best to accept them. They further say'd, that they enjoying those trusts and places, which they had secur'd for themselves and other honest men, should be able to curb the king's exorbitances; and such other things they say'd, wherewith the collonell dissatisfied, oppos'd their proceedings as much as he could. When the vote was past, he telling some men of understanding, that he was not satisfied in

* There is, among Clarendon's State Papers, a letter from the queen to the king, assuring him that those with whom he had to deal were too penetrating to be duped by this artifice; if they were, or pretended to be, the queen was not.

conscience to be included with the maior part, in this vote, which was contrary to their former engagements to God, but thought it fitt to testifie their publick dissent, he and foure more enter'd into the house-book a protestation against that night's votes and proceedings *. Whether it yett remains there, or whether some other of them gott it out, he knew not, but he much wonder'd, after the change and scrutinie into all these things, that he never heard the least mention of it.

By this violent proceeding of the presbyterians they finisht the destruction of him in whose restitution they were now so fiercely engag'd, for this gave heart to the vanquisht cavaliers, and such courage to the captive king that it harden'd him and them to their ruine. On the other side it so frightened all the honest people, that it made them as violent in their zeale to pull downe, as the others were in their madnesse to restore, this kingly idoll, and the armie, who were principally levell'd and mark'd out for the sacrifice and peace offering of this ungodly reconcilliation, had some colour to persue their late arrogant usurpations upon that authority which it was their duty rather to have obey'd than inter-

* Ludlow says he wished to do this very thing, but could not.

rupted; but the debates of that night, which produc'd such destructive votes to them and all their friends, being reported to them, they the next morning came and seiz'd about *

of the members as they were going to the house, and carried them to a house hard by, where they were for the present kept prisoners. Most of the presbyterian faction, distasted at this insolence, would no more come to their seates in the house; but the gentlemen who were of the other faction, or of none at all, but look'd upon themselves as call'd out to manage a publick trust for their country, forsooke not their seates while they were permitted to sitt in the house†. Coll, Hutchinson was one of these who infinitely dislik'd the action of the armie, and had once before bene instrumentall in preventing such another rash attempt, which some of the discerning and honest members having a ialousie of, sent him down to discover. When he came, going first to commissary Ireton's quar-

* Dugdale gives a list of the secluded members, forty-one in number, and hence we are furnished with some names which will serve to establish a peculiar fact stated at the latter end of the history of the republick.

† Whitelock, who was exactly in the same predicament, acted in the same manner, and gives the same reasons for it.

ters, he found him and some of the soberer officers of the armie in greate discontent, for that the *lieftenant-generall* had given order for a sudden advance of the armie to London, upon the intelligence they had had of the violent proceedings of the other party, whereupon Cromwell was then in the mind to have come and broken them up ; but Coll. Hutchinson, with others, at that time perswaded him that, notwithstanding the prevalency of the presbyterian faction, yet there were many who had upright and honest hearts to the publick interest, who had not deserv'd to be so us'd by them, and who could not ioyne with them in any such irregular wayes, although in all iust and equitable things they would be their protectors. Whereupon at that time he was stay'd * ; but having now drawne the armie

* Mrs. Hutchinson does Ireton that justice which White-lock refuses him, who seems to consider him in the light of an *instigator* : but this is clearly decided by Ludlow, who declares that " he himself, being sensible that the " presbyterian party were determined to sacrifice the " common cause to the pleasure of triumphing over the " independents and the army, by agreeing with the king, " or by any means, went down to apprise Fairfax and " Ireton, then at the siege of Colchester, of this design, " and to court the interposition of the army. Fairfax " readily agreed, but Ireton demurred to interfering till " the king and presbyterians should have actually agreed,

neerer London, they put this insolent force upon the house. Those who were suffer'd to remaine, not at all approving thereof, sent out their mace to demand their members, but the souldiers would not obey. Yet the parliament thought it better to sitt still and goe on in their duty then give up all, in so distemper'd a time, into the hands of the souldiery, especially there having bene so spacious a pretext of the necessity of securing the whole interest and party from the treachery of those men who contended so earnestly to give up the victors into the hands of their vanquisht enemies. Many petitions had bene brought to the parliament from thousands of the well-affected of the city of London and Westminster and burrough of Southwark, and from several counties in England, and from the severall regiments of the armie, whereof Coll. Ingolsbye's was one of the first, all urging them to performe their covenant, and bring

“ and the body of the nation been convinced of the iniquity “ of their coalition.” Additional provocations and imperious circumstances afterwards constrained him, but he acted no conspicuous part in the business. In this difference of opinion respecting the interference of the army, we may see the source of the dissension which more openly took place afterwards between Col. Hutchinson and Ludlow, and caused the latter to calumniate Col. Hutchinson as he did.

delinquents, without partiality, to iustice and condigne punishment, and to make enquiry for the guilt of the blood that had bene shed in the land in both warres, and to execute iustice; leást the not improoving the mercies of God should bring iudgments in their roome.

Then also a declaration to the same purpose was presented to the house from the lord generall Fairfax and his counsell of officers, and strange it is how men that could afterwards pretend such reluctancy and abhorrence of those things that were done, should forgett they were the effective answer of their petitions.

After the purgation of the house, upon new debate of the treaty at the Isle of Wight, it was concluded dangerous to the realme and destructive to the better interest, and the triall of the king was determin'd. He was sent for to Westminster, and a commission given forth to a court of high iustice, whereof Bradshaw, serjeant at law, was president, and divers honorable persons of the parliament, citie, and armie, nominated commissioners. Among them Coll. Hutchinson was one, who, very much against his owne will, was put in, but looking upon himselfe as call'd hereunto, durst not refuse it, as holding himselfe oblig'd by the covenant of God and the publick trust of his country re-

pos'd in him, although he was not ignorant of the danger he runne as the condition of things then was.

In January 1648 the court sate, the king was brought to his triall, and a charge drawne up against him for leavying warre against the parliament and people of England, for betraying their publick trust repos'd in him, and for being an implacable enemie to the commonwealth. But the king refus'd to plead, disowning the authority of the court, and after three severall dayes persisting in contempt thereof, he was sentenc'd to suffer death.* One thing was re-

* Without entering into the *merits* of the question, we may safely assert that the trial of the king was *without precedent*, though many sovereigns had been deposed and put to death *without trial*. It may appear fanciful to many to suggest that the precedent set at this period could have any influence on the fate of the unfortunate Louis XVI.; but those who have well observed the proneness of the French to mimicry (*singerie*), and particularly at the time of their first revolution, their *Anglomania*, or apeing of the English (preferably in their foibles), will not be far from believing that this precedent emboldened them to the mockery of justice, which they exhibited in his trial and condemnation. It is true that many, and even most, circumstances were wanting to render the cases parallel, but they were determined to come up to the height of the English revolution (*à la hauteur des Anglois*), and therefore malice and invention supplied all deficiencies.

mark'd in him by many of the court, that when the blood spilt in many of the battles where he was in his owne person, and had caus'd it to be shed by his owne command, was lay'd to his charge, he heard it with disdainfull smiles, and looks and gestures, which rather exprest sorrow that all the opposite party to him was not cutt off, then that any were: and he stuck not to declare in words that no man's blood spilt in this quarrel troubled him but only one, meaning the Earle of Strafford. The gentlemen that were appoynted his iudges, and divers others, saw in him a disposition so bent on the ruine of all that oppos'd him, and of all the righteous and iust things they had contended for, that it was upon the consciences of many of them that if they did not execute iustice upon him, God would require at their hands all the blood and desolation which should ensue by their suffering him to escape, when God had brought him into their hands. Although the mallice of the malignant party and their apostate brethren seem'd to threaten them, yett they thought they ought to cast themselves upon God, while they acted with a good conscience for him and their country. Some of them after, to excuse, belied themselves, and sayd they were under the awe of the armie, and overperswaded by Cromwell, and the like; but it

is certeine that all men herein were left to their free liberty of acting, neither perswaded nor compelled ; and as there were some nominated in the commission who never sate, and others who sate at first, but durst not hold on, so all the rest might have declin'd it if they would, when it is apparent they should have suffer'd nothing by so doing. For those who then declin'd were afterwards, when they offer'd themselves, receiv'd in againe, and had places of more trust and benefitt then those who run the utmost hazard ; which they deserv'd not, for I know upon certeine knowledge that many, yea the most of them, retreated not for conscience, but for feare and worldly prudence, foreseeing that the insolency of the armie might grow to that height as to ruine the cause, and reduce the kingdome into the hands of the enemie ; and then those who had bene most courageous in their country's cause should be given up as victims. These poore men did privately animate those who appear'd most publicquely, and I knew severall of them in whom I liv'd to see that saying of Christ fulfill'd, " He that will save his life shall loose it, and he that for my sake will loose his life shall save it ;" when after it fell out that all their prudent declensions sav'd not the lives of some nor the

estates of others. As for Mr. Hutchinson, although he was very much confirm'd in his judgment concerning the cause, yett here being call'd to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of severall minds, he address'd himselfe to God by prayer, desiring the Lord that, if through any humane frailty he were led into any error or false opinion in these greate transactions, he would open his eies, and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirme his spiritt in the truth, and lead him by a right-enlightened conscience; and finding no check, but a confirmation in his conscience that it was his duty to act as he did, he, upon serious debate, both privately and in his addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious, upright, unbiassed persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the king. Although he did not then believe but it might one day come to be againe disputed among men, yett both he and others thought they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God's and their enemies, and therefore he cast himselfe upon God's protection, acting according to the dictates of a conscience which he had sought the Lord to guide, and accord-

ingly the Lord did signalize his favour afterwards to him.*

After the death of the king, it was debated and resolv'd to change the forme of government from monarchicall into a commonwealth, and the house of lords was voted dangerous and useless thereunto, and dissolved. A councill of state was to be annually chosen for the management of affaires, accountable to the parliament, out of which, consisting of 40 counsellors and a president, 20 were every yeare to goe. of by lot, and 20 new ones to be supplied. It is true that at that time every

* The account here given of Col. Hutchinson's motives in this great transaction is most ingenuous, and lays his conduct fairly open to the discussion and decision of the reader, who, according to his own feelings, will determine it for himself to be *commendable*, *censurable*, or *venial*. The legislature unanimously voted it *venial*.—It would be an invidious, but not a very difficult task, to point out the persons who, by their *politic declensions*, failed of saving their lives and estates; but it is worthy notice that Fairfax, after the restoration, with that ingenuousness which belonged to him, declared (Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 10.), "that if any person must be excepted from pardon for the death of the king, he knew no man that deserved it more than himself, who being general of the army, and having power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the king, had not thought fit to use it to that end." It is needless to multiply examples, one reasoning extending to the whole.

man allmost was fancying a forme* of government, and angrie, when this came forth, that his invention tooke not place; and among these John Lilbourne, a turbulent-spirited man, that never was quiet in any thing, publisht libells, and the levellers made a disturbance with a kind of insurrection, which Cromwell soon appeased, they indeed being betrey'd by their owne leaders.

But how the publique business went on, how Cromwell finisht the conquest of Ireland, how the angrie presbiterians spitt fire out of their pulpitts, and endeavour'd to blow up the people against the parliament, how they enter'd into a treasonable conspiracy with Scotland, who had now receiv'd and crown'd the sonne of the late king, who led them in hither in a greate armie, which the Lord of Hosts discomfited; how our publick ministers were assassinated and murther'd in Spayne and Holland, and how the Dutch, in this unsettlement of affaires, hoped to gaine by making warre, wherein they were beaten and brought to sue for peace, I shall leave to the stories that were then written, and only in

* A natural consequence of great popular revolutions, in which the modern French have had the glory of out-doing all the world!

generall say that the hand of God was mightily seene in prospering and preserving the parliament till Cromwell's ambition unhappily interrupted them. Mr. Hutchinson was chosen into the first councill of state, much against his owne will; for, understanding that his cousin Ireton was one of the commissioners to nominate that councill, he sent his wife to him, before he went to the house, that morning they were to be named, to desire him, upon all the scores of kindred and kindnesse that had bene betweene them, that he might be left out, in regard that he had allready wasted his time and his estate in the parliament service; and having neither had recompense for his losses, nor any office of benefitt, it would finish his ruine, to be tied by this employment to a close and chargeable attendance, besides the inconvenience of his health, not yet thoroughly confirm'd, his constitution more suitable to an active than to a sedentary life: these and other things he privately urg'd to him; but he, that was a man regardless of his owne or any man's private interest, wherever he thought the publick service might be advantag'd, instead of keeping him out, got him in, when the collo-nell had prevail'd with others to have indulg'd him that ease he desir'd. Mr. Hutchinson, after he had endeavour'd to decline this em-

ployment and could not, thought that herein, as in other occasions, it being put upon him without his owne desire, God had call'd him to his service in counsell as formerly in arms, and applied himselfe to this alsoe, wherein he did his duty faithfully, and employ'd his power to relieve the oppressed and dejected, freely becoming the advocate of those who had bene his late enemies, in all things that were iust and charitable. Though he had now an oppertunity to have enricht himselfe, as 'tis to be fear'd some in all times have done, by accepting rewards for even iust assistances, and wanted not many who offer'd them and sollicitd him therein, yet such was his generous nature that he abhorr'd the mention of anie thing like reward, though never so iustly merited, and although he did a thousand high obliging kindnesses for many, both friends and enemies, he never had anie thing in mony or presents of any man.* The truth is, on the

* The lists of the two first councils, which embraced almost the whole duration of the republic, are preserved by Whitelock, and Col. Hutchinson is in each of them: he went out at the formation of the third. It is extremely to be regretted that Mrs. Hutchinson should have been so concise in this part of her history, it being a period which naturally excites much curiosity, but of which we have only indistinct, and, generally speaking, invidious and partial accounts.

contrary, he mett with many that had not the good manners to make so much as a civill verball acknowledgment. Among the rest, one Sr. John Owen may stand for a pillar of ingratitude. This man was wholly unknowne to him, and with Duke Hamilton, the Earle of Holland, the Lord Capell, and the Lord Goring, condemn'd to death by a second high court of iustice. Of this though the collonell was nominated a commissioner, he would not sitt, his unbloody nature desiring to spare the rest of the delinquents, after the highest had suffer'd, and not delighting in the death of men, when they could live without cruelty to better men. The parliament alsoe was willing to shew mercy to some of these, and to execute others for example; whereupon the whole house was diversely engag'd, some for one and some for another of these lords, and striving to cast away those they were not concern'd in, that they might save their friends. While there was such mighty labour and endeavour for these lords, Coll. Hutchinson observ'd that no man spoke for this poore knight, and sitting next to Coll. Ireton, he express'd himselfe to him and told him, that it pittied him much to see that, while all were labouring to save the the lords, a gentleman, that stood in the same condemnation, should not find one friend to

aske his life; "and so," sayd he, "am I
 " moov'd with compassion that, if you will se-
 " cond me, I am resolv'd to speake for him,
 " who, I perceive, is a stranger and friend-
 " lesse." Ireton promis'd to second him, and
 accordingly enquiring further of the man's
 condition, whether he had not a petition in any
 member's hand, he found that his keepers had
 brought one to the clearke of the house, but
 the man had not found any one that would in-
 terest themselves for him, thinking the lords'
 lives of so much more concernment then this
 gentleman's. This the more stirr'd up the
 collonell's generous pittie, and he took the
 petition, deliver'd it, spoke for him so nobly,
 and was so effectually seconded by Ireton, that
 they carried his pardon clear. Yet although
 one who knew the whole circumstance of the
 businesse, how Mr. Hutchinson, moov'd by
 meere compassion and generosity, had procur'd
 his life, told him, who admir'd his owne escape,
 how it came about, he never was the man that
 so much as once came to give him thankes;
 nor was his fellow prisoner Goring, for whom
 the collonell had alsoe effectually sollicitated,
 more grateful.*

* This is differently represented by Whitelock, Rapin,
 and Ludlow. Whitelock says simply that he was re-
 priev'd; Rapin, that his sentence was suspended, be-

Some of the army, being very desirous to get among them a person of whose fidelity and integrity to the cause they had so good experience, had moov'd it to the generall, my Lord Fairfax, who had commanded to have it enquir'd what way he would chuse to be employ'd, and when he had told them that, in regard to his famely, which he would not willingly be much absent from, he should rather accept the government of some towne then a field employment, four governments were brought to him, to elect which he would have ; whereof Plimmouth and Portsmouth, and one more in the west, being at a vast distance from his owne country, Hull in the north, though a lesse beneficiall charge then the other, he made choice of, thinking they had not offer'd him aniething but what was fairely fallen into their dispose. Soone after this the lieftenant-generall, Cromwell, desir'd him to meete him one afternoone att a com-

cause he should have been tried by an inferior court ; and Ludlow, that Ireton moved the house in his favour, omitting Col. Hutchinson either by negligence or design : there is some reason to think it to have been by the latter. Notwithstanding Col. Hutchinson experienced ingratitude from many individuals, the general and collective sense of his justice and benevolence will be seen to have its full operation in his favour in the sequel.

mittee, where, when he came, a malicious accusation against the governor of Hull was violently prosecuted by a fierce faction in that towne. To this the governor had sent up a very faire and honest defence, yet most of the committee more favouring the adverse faction, were labouring to cast out the governor. Coll. Hutchinson, though he knew him not, was very earnest in his defence, whereupon Cromwell drew him aside, and askt him what he meant to contend so, to keepe in that governor? (it was Overton). The collonell told him, because he saw nothing proov'd against him worthy of being eicted. "But," sayd Cromwell, "we like him not." Then sayd the collonell, "Doe it upon that account, and blemish not a man that is innocent, upon false accusations, because you like him not." "But," sayd Cromwell, "wee would have him out, because the government is design'd for you, and except you put him out you cannot have the place." At this the collonell was very angrie, and with greate indignation told him, if there was no way to bring him into their army but by casting out others uniuistly, he would rather fall naked before his enemies, then so seeke to put himselfe into a posture of defence. Then returning to the

table, he so eagerly undertooke the iniured governor's protection that he foyl'd his enemies, and the governor was confirm'd in his place. This so displeas'd Cromwell that, as before, so much more now, he saw that even his owne interest would not byasse him into any uniust faction, he secretly labour'd to frustrate the attempts of all others who, for the same reason that Cromwell labour'd to keepe him out, labour'd as much to bring him in.

But now had the poyson of ambition so ulcerated Cromwell's heart, that the effects of it became more apparent than before, and while as yett Fairfax stood an empty name, he was moulding the army to his mind, weeding out the godly and upright-hearted men, both officers and souldiers, and filling up their roomes with rascally turne-coate cavaliers, and pittifull sottish beasts of his owne alliance, and other such as would swallow all things, and make no question for conscience sake. Yet this he did not directly nor in tumult, but by such degrees that it was unperceiv'd by all that were not of very penetrating eies, and those that made the loudest outcries against him lifted up their voyces with such apparent envie and mallice that, in that mist, they rather hid then discover'd his ambitious minings. Among

these Coll. Rich and Commissary Staines and Watson had made a designe even against his life, and the businesse was brought to the examination of the councell of state. Before the hearing of it Coll. Rich came to Coll. Hutchinson and implor'd his assistance with teares, affirming all the crimes of Cromwell, but not daring to iustifie his accusations, although the collonell advis'd him if they were true to stand boldly to it, if false to acknowledge his owne iniquity. The latter course he tooke, and the councell had resolv'd upon the iust punishment of the men, when Cromwell, having only thus in a private councell vindicated himselfe from the mallice, and lay'd open what pittifull sneaking poore knaves they were, how ungratefull to him, and how treacherous and cowardly to themselves, he became their advocate, and made it his suite they might be no farther publisht or punisht. This being permitted him, and they thus render'd contemptible to others, they became beasts and slaves to him, who knew how to serve himselfe of them without trusting them. This generosity, for indeed he carried himselfe with the greatest bravery that is imaginable herein, much advanc'd his glory, and clear'd him in the eies of superficiall beholders; but others saw he crept on, and could not stop him, while for-

tune itselfe seem'd to prepare his way* in sundry occasions. All this while he carried to Mr. Hutchinson the most open face, and made the most oblieging professions of friendship imaginable, but the collonell saw through him, and forbore not often to tell him what was suspected of his ambition, what dissimulations of his were remarked, and how dishonorable to the name of God and the profession of religion, and destructive to the most glorious cause, and dangerous to overthrow all our triumphs, these things which were suspected of him would be, if true. He would seem to receive these cautions and admonitions as the greatest demonstrations of integrity and friendship that could be made, and embrace the collonell in his armes, and make serious lying professions to him, and often enquire men's opinions concerning him, which the collonell never forbore to tell him plainly, although he knew he resented it not as he made shew, yett it pleas'd him so to discharge his owne thoughts.†

* By the admirers of Tacitus the development of this intrigue will be highly relished: it aids likewise to confirm the remark that Cromwell's forte lay in watching and adroitly seizing opportunities, not in creating or inventing them. By the former method a man swims with the tide of human affairs, and is assisted by it; by the latter he must stem and encounter it.

† Men who think superficially will instantly proclaim

The islanders of Jersey wanting a governor, and being acquainted, through the familiarity many of their countrymen had with him, with the abilities and honour of Coll. Hutchinson, they address'd themselves to my Lord Generall Fairfax, and petition'd to have him for their governor, which my lord assented to; and accordingly commanded a commission to be drawne up, which was done; but the collonell made not haste to take it out. But my lord, having order'd the commission, regarded him as governor, and when the modell of the castle was brought to my lord to procure orders and mony for the repaire of the fortifications, he sent it to the collonell, and all other businesse concerning the island.

In the meantime, the Scotts having declar'd open warre against the parliament of England, it was concluded to send an armie into Scotland, to prevent their intended advance hither. But when they were iust marching out, my Lord Fairfax, perswaded by his wife and her chaplains, threw up his commission at such a

the simplicity of Col. Hutchinson, and the shrewdness of Cromwell; those who think deeper, will in that simplicity see wisdom, in that shrewdness a more exquisite folly. In life, in death, and in reputation, which of these two was the happier? In modern times, can it be doubted which of the two any man would chuse to resemble, Washington or Bonaparte?

time, when it could not have bene done more spitefully and ruinously to the whole parliament interest. Coll. Hutchinson and other parliament men, hearing of his intentions the night before, and knowing that he would thus levell the way to Cromwell's ambitious designes, went to him and labour'd to dissuade him; which they had effected, but that the presbyterian ministers wrought with him to doe it. He exprest that he believ'd God lay'd him aside, as not being worthy of more, nor of that glory which was already given him.

To speake the truth of Cromwell, whereas many say'd he undermined Fairfax, it was false; for in Coll. Hutchinson's presence, he most effectually importun'd him to keepe his commission, least it should discourage the army and the people in that iuncture of time, but could by no means prevaile, allthough he labour'd it allmost all the night with most earnest endeavours.* But this greate man was then as unmoovable by his friends as perti-

* Whitelock tells the same story nearly in the same manner, but thinks Cromwell was not sincere: yet certainly he took all the same steps with those who were unquestionably so. How little soever Cromwell might wish to succeed, there was good policy in attending this conference, as it might in some degree serve to diminish the suspicions entertained of his own ambitious views, and prevent their being urged in argument to Fairfax, which,

nacious in obeying his wife ; whereby he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his owne name, which every day wore out. When his commission was given up, Cromwell was made generall, and new commissions taken out by all the officers from him. He finding that Coll. Hutchinson's commission for the island was not taken out, and that he addrest not to him, made hast to pre-

if he had been absent, they most likely would have been. Be this as it may, it may be truly said,

*Ex illo fluere et retro sublapsi referri
Res Danaum.*

For the true republicans or commonwealth's men,
From thence the tide of fortune left their shore,
And ebb'd much faster than it flow'd before.

For it was only with the co-operation of a man, who to his martial talents, which certainly exceeded all of his time, added that moderation and integrity, which will distinguish Fairfax to the end of time, that the great politicians of those days could have planned and finished such schemes of representation, legislation, and administration, as would have rendered the nation great and happy, either as a commonwealth or mixed government. They had in some respects such opportunities as never can again arise ; and if the presbyterians have nothing else to answer for, the perverting the judgment of this excellent man was a fault never to be forgiven ; if the ruin of their own cause could expiate it, they were not long before they made that atonement.

vent the islanders, and gave a commission for the government to one of his owne creatures. At this time the Lady Dormer being dead, had left to her grandchild, a Papist, the Lady Anne Somersett, daughter to the Marquesse of Worcester, a mannour in Leicestershire, which the lady, being more desireous of a portion in mony, had a greate mind to sell, and came and offer'd it to Coll. Hutchinson, with whom she had some alliance; but he told her he was not in a purchasing condition, whereupon she earnestly beg'd him, that if he would not buy it himselfe, he would procure of the parliament, that she might have leave to sell it. This he moov'd and was repuls'd, whereupon both the lady, and one that was her priest, who negotiated for her, and other friends, most earnestly sollicitated Col- lonell Hutchinson to buy it; who urging that he had not mony for such a purchase, they offer'd him time of payment, till he could sell his owne land, and assur'd him it should be such a pennieworth, as he should not repent the selling his owne land to buy it. He urg'd to them the trouble and difficulty it would be to obtaine it, and that it might so fall that he must lay a weight upon it, more then the thing would be worth to him, he never having yet made any request to the house, and hav-

ing reason to expect recompences for the losse of his estate, as well as others. But my lady still importun'd him, promising a pennie-worth in it, that should countervaille the difficulty and the trouble; whereupon, at the last, he contracted with her, upon both her and her brother's desire, the Lord Herbert, who was her next heire, and was then at full age, and gave a release of all claime to it, under his hand and seale; and my lady, being betweene 19 and 20 yeares old, then past a fine, and covenanted att her comming to full age to passe another, and absolutely bargained and sold the land to Coll. Hutchinson, who secured the price of it to the Marquesse of Dorchester, whom the lady and her friends had a greate hope and desire to compasse for a husband, and had thoughts, that when the portion was secur'd in his hands, it would be easily effected. This they afterwards entrusted to Coll. Hutchinson, and desired his assistance to propound the businesse to my lord, as from himselfe, out of mutuall well-wishes to both parties; but my lord would not hearken to it, though the collonell, willing to do her a kindnesse, endeavoured to perswade him, as much as was fitting. In the mean time the collonell could not, by all the friends and interest he had in the house, procure a

composition and leave for my lady to sell her land, because they say'd it would be a precedent to other Papists, and some moov'd, that what service he had done, and what he had lost, might be some other way consider'd, rather than this any way suffer'd. But he vigorously persuing it, and laying all the weight of all his meritts and sufferings upon it, all that he could obtaine at last was, to be himselfe admitted, in his owne name, for taking of of the sequestration, after he had bought it, which he did; and they tooke two thousand pounds of him for his composition. By the interest of Sr. Henry Vane and severall others of his friends, powerfull in the house, this too was with much difficulty wrought out, though violently oppos'd by severall others. Of these Maior-generall Harrison was one, and he, when he saw that he could not prevaile, but that in favour particularly to Coll. Hutchinson, it was carried out by his friends; after the rising of the house, meeting the collonell, he embrac'd him, and desir'd him not to think he did it in any personal opposition to him, but in his iudgment, who thought it fitt the spoyle should be taken out of the enemies hands, and no composition admitted from idolaters. Whatever might be particular advantage to him, he envied not, but reioic'd in, only he so dearly

lov'd him, that he desir'd he would not sett his heart upon the augmenting of outward estate, but upon the things of the approaching kingdome of God, concerning which he made a most pious and seeming friendly harangue, of at least an howr long, with all the demonstrations of zeale to God and love to the collonell that can be imagined. But the collonell, having reason to feare that he knew not his owne spiritt herein, made him only a short reply, that he thanked him for his councell, and should endeavour to follow it, as became the duty of a Christian, and should be glad to be as effectually instructed by his example as his admonition. For att that time the maiorgenerall, who was but a meane man's sonne, and of a meane education, and no estate before the warre had gather'd an estate of two thousand a yeare, besides engrossing greate offices, and encroaching upon his under officers, and maintain'd his coach and famely, at a heighth as if they had bene borne to principallity.

About the same time a greate ambassador was to have publick audience in the house, he came from the king of Spaine, and was the first who had addrest to them owning them as a republick. The day before his audience, Coll. Hutchinson was sett in the house, neere some

young men handsomely clad, among whom was Mr. Charles Rich, since Earle of Warwick; and the collonell himselfe had on that day a habitt which was pretty rich but grave, and no other then he usually wore. Harrison addressing particularly to him, admonisht them all, that now the nations sent to them, they should labour to shine before them in wisdom, piety, righteousness and iustice, and not in gold and silver and worldly bravery, which did not become saints; and that the next day when the ambassadors came they should not sett themselves out in gorgeous habitts, which were unsuitable to holy professions. The collonell, although he was not convinc'd of anie misbecoming bravery in the suite he wore that day, which was but of sad colour'd cloth trimm'd with gold, and silver poynts and buttons; yet because he would not appear offensive in the eyes of religious persons, the next day he went in a plaine black suite, and so did all the other gentlemen, but Harrison came that day in a scarlett coate and cloake, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coate so cover'd with clinquant *, that scarcely could one discern the ground, and in this glittering habitt, sett himselfe iust under the speaker's chaire; which made the other gentlemen think that his

* Clinquant ; *French*, foil.

godly speeches, the day before, were but made, that he alone might appear in the eies of strangers. But this was part of his weaknesse, the Lord at last lifted him above these poore earthly elevations, which then and sometime after prevail'd too much with him.*

After the collonell had bought my lady's land, some that were extreemely vext at her having that summe of money, dealt with the collonell to permit them to sequester it in his hands, and offer'd him he should have it all himselfe, which, he told them, he would be torne to pieces before he would doe, and that it was a treachery and villainy that he abhorr'd. Though, notwithstanding this, he were much prest he would not yield, and to prevent force, which they threaten'd, after mooving in the house, how dangerous it was to suffer such a summe of money to be in the hands of the daughter of an excepted person, especially at such a time (for now the king was crown'd in Scotland, and the Scotts ready to invade, and the presbiters to ioyne with them), the collonell put the mony out of his owne hands, to preserve it for my lady. All that

* Ludlow gives very extraordinary accounts of his devotion to that which he thought the cause of God, as well as of his readiness to suffer martyrdom for it when it was in his power to avoid that severe trial.

time both she and her brother, and other friends, made all the acknowledgments of obligation that was possible. Not to confound stories, I finish the memoriall of this here.

After the parliament was broken up by Cromwell, and after that my lady, seeing her proiect of marrying with my Lord Dorchester would not take, had embrac'd an offer of Mr. Henry Howard, second sonne to the Earle of Arundell, and when in the protector's time, the Papists wanted not patrons, she began to repent the selling of her land, which before she thought such a blessing, and told her husband false stories, as he alledg'd, though his future carriage made it iustly suspitious, he was as unworthy as she.*

The collonell, presently after he had that land, had very much improov'd it, to a fourth part more than it was att when he bought it, and they, envying his good bargaine, desired to have it againe out of his hands, nor dealt fairely and directly in the thing, but employed a cunning person, Maior Wildman, who was then a greate manager of Papists' interests, to

* In the third vol. of Clarendon's State Papers, in a letter of his, dated Aug. 1655, he says, "Cromwell hypocritically pretends kindness to the Catholicks, but the Levellers have real candour towards them, and are implacable enemies to Cromwell."

get the land againe, which he was to have four hundred pounds for, if he could do it. Whereupon he presently gott mony and came to the gentleman who had a mortgage upon it, for three thousand pounds taken up to pay my lady, and tender'd it. But Mr. Ash, a greater friend of the collonell's was so faithfull that he would not accept it, and then Wildman began a chancery suit, thinking that the collonell, being out of favour with the present powers, would be necessitated to take any composition. When he had put the collonell to a greater deal of vaine charge, and found he could doe no good, at last they desir'd to make up the businesse, and the lady and Mr. Howard past a new fine to confirme the title, and the collonell was deliver'd from further trouble with them, till after the change and the returne of the king. Then, when the parliament men began to come into question for their lives, my Lord of Portland and Mr. Howard came to Mrs. Hutchinson's lodgings three or foure times, while she was out solliciting for her husband, and my lord left her a message, that he must needs speake with her, upon a businesse of much concernment; whereupon she sought out my lord, knowing that he had profest much kindnesse and obligation to her husband, and thinking he might have some

designe now to acknowledge it by some reall assistance. But when she came to him, he told her, her husband was in danger of his life, and that if he would resigne back Loseby to Mr. Howard, he would helpe him to a good summe of mony to flie, and Mr. Howard would stand to the hazard of buying it; but she being vext that my lord should interrupt her with this frivolous proposition, told my lord she would hazard it with the rest of her estate, rather then make up such desperate bargaines. When Mr. Howard saw this would not doe, he prepar'd a petition to get it excepted out of the act of oblivion, pretending that his wife being under age, the collonell had by power and frawd wrested her out of her estate. But when he shew'd this petition to his friends, they being inform'd of the falsenesse of the allegations, would none of them undertake either to deliver or back it. Only one Sr. Richard Onslow was a violent men, rayling against the collonell concerning this, but he not long after died by a blast of lightning. Others of his friends, when they understood that he himselfe had ioyn'd in the confirmation of the fine, after the collonell was retir'd, in the protector's reigne, bade him for shame no more make mention of his lady's being fool'd or frighten'd to an act which he had voluntarily done. Many

told the collonell how unsafe it was to displease a person who had so many powerfull allies that might mischiefe him, but the collonell would neither be frighted nor flatter'd to give away his estate, which when Hr. Howard found, he let fall his purpose, and made no more vaine endeavours.*

And now to returne to his story where I left it, I shall not mention every particular action of his in the employment of a senator and councellor of the realms, but only some which were more remarkable, to shew the honour and excellency of his nature, among which this was one. When his old opposites and enemies of the Nottingham committee had enter'd into the Presbyterian conspiracy, so deepe, that their lives were forfeit to the law, had they bene brought to publick triall, and this was discover'd to him; and alsoe that Coll. Pierrepont was the chiefe of them, he tooke

* How, when, or by whom this estate at Loseby was sold again, the editor has not been able to discover, it never having come into the hands of this branch of the family, which purchased Owthorpe. One of the estates sold by Col. Hutchinson in his lifetime, was that of Ratcliffe on Soar, which is spoken of in a note as given to Sir Thomas Hutchinson by his uncle Sacheverell; the purchaser was Alderman Ireton, and it was, in all probability, sold to enable him, jointly with the money borrowed of Mr. Ash, to purchase this estate.

care to have the businesse so manag'd, that Coll. Pierrepont was past by in the information, and others so favourably accus'd, that they were only restrain'd from the mischife they intended, and kept prisoners till the danger was over, and after, through his mediation releas'd, without any further punishment on their persons and estates, though Chadwick's eldest sonne was one of these. For Coll. Pierrepont, he only privately admonisht him, and endeavour'd to reclaime him, which the man, being good natur'd, was infinitely overcome with, insomuch that ever after, to his dying day, all his envy ceast, and he profest all imaginable friendship and kindnesse to the collonell. Indeede his excellent gentlenesse was such, that he not only protected and sav'd these enemies, wherein there was some glory of passing by revenge, but was compassionately affected with the miseries of any poore woemen or children, who had bene unfortunately, though deservedly, ruin'd in the civill warre; and without any interest of his owne in the persons, whenever any ruin'd famely came to seeke reliefe, where he was in power, he was as zealous in assisting all such, as farre as it might be done with the safety of the commonwealth, as if they had bene his brothers. As it was a misery to be bewail'd in those dayes, that many of the parliament party exercis'd cruelty,

iniustice, and oppression, to their conquer'd enemies, wherever he discover'd it he violently oppos'd it, and defended even those enemies that were by might oppress'd and defrauded of the mercies of the parliament. Upon this account he had contests with some good men, who were weake in these things, some through too factious a zeall, and others blinded with their owne or their friends' interests. Among these Coll. Hacker's father, having married my Lady Biron's mother, was made a trustee for the estate of her sonne, which she had by Strelley her first husband. He had about 1800l. of the estate of young Strelley in his hands, which, he dying, his eldest sonne and heire Coll. Francis Hacker, was liable and iusly ought to pay. Young Strelley died in France, and left his estate to his halfe brother, the sonne of Sir Richard Biron, who all the time of the first warre, was at schoole in Coll. Hutchinson's garrison at Nottingham, and after was sent into France. Being there, an infant, when this estate fell to him, he return'd and chose Coll. Hutchinson for his guardian, who overcame Coll. Hacker in the right of his pupill, and recover'd that mony out of his hands, which he would not have pay'd, if the infant had not found a friend that was heartily zealous to obtaine his iust right. Sr. Arthur Haslerig was a greate pa-

trone of Coll. Hacker's, and labour'd to beare him out against iustice and the infant's right in this thing; and, when the collonell had overcome him, they were both displeas'd; for Hacker, on the other side, was such a creature of Sr. Arthur's, that, without questioning iustice or honesty, he was more dilligent in obeying Sr. Arthur's then God's commands. Sr. Allen Apsley had articles at the rendition of Barnstable, whereof he was governor, and contrary to these, he was put to vast expence and horrible vexation, by severall persons, but especially by one wicked weoman, who had the worst and the smoothest tongue that ever her sex made use of to mischief. She was handsome in her youth, and had very pretty girles to her daughters, whom, when they grew up, she prostituted to her revenge and mallice against Sr. Allen Apsley, which was so venomous and devillish, that she stuck not at inventing false accusations, and hiring witnesses to swear them, and a thousand other as enormous practises. In those dayes there was a committee set up, for reliefe of such as had any violation of their articles, and of this Bradshaw was president; into whose easie faith this woman, pretending herselfe religious, and of the parliament's party, had so insinuated herselfe, that Sr. Allen's way of re-

lief was obstructed. Coll. Hutchinson labouring mightily in his protection, and often foyling this vile woman, and bringing to light her devillish practises, turn'd the woman's spite into as violent a tumult against himselfe, and Bradshaw was so hott in abbetting her, that he grew coole in his kindnesse to the collonell, yet broke it not quite: but the collonell was very much griev'd that a friend should engage in so uniuert an opposition. At last it was manifest how much they were mistaken that would have assisted this woman upon a score of being on the parliament's side, for she was all this while a spie for the king, and after his returne, Sr. Allen Apsley met her in the king's chamber waiting for recompense for that service. The thing she sued Sr. Allen Apsley for, was for a house of her's in the garrison of Barnstable, which was pull'd downe to fortifie the towne for the king, before he was governor of the place. Yett would she have had his articles violated to make her a recompense out of his estate, treble and more than the value of the house, pretending she was of the parliament's party, and that Sr. Allen in mallice thereunto, had without necessity pull'd downe her house. All which were horrible lies, but so malliciously and so wickedly affirm'd and sworne by her mercenary

witnesses, that they at first found faith, and it was hard for truth afterwards to overcome that prepossession.

The collonell prosecuting the defence of truth and iustice, in these and many more things, and abhorring all councells of securing the young commonwealth, by cruelty and oppression of the vanquisht, who had not laid downe their hate, in delivering up their armes, and were therefore, by some cowards, iudg'd unworthy of the mercy extended to them, the collonell, I say, disdaining such thoughts, displeas'd many of his owne party, who, in the maine, we hope, might have bene honest, although through divers temptations, guilty of horrible slips, which did more offend the collonell's pure zeale, who detested these sins more in brethren then in enemies.

Now was Cromwell sole generall, and marcht into Scotland, and the Scots ready to invade, and the presbyters to assist them here. The army being small, there was a necessity of recruits, and the councell of state solliciting all the parliament men that had interest, to improve it in this exigence of time, they gave Coll. Hutchinson a commission for a regiment of horse. He immediately gott up three troopes, well armed and mounted, of his owne old souldiers, that thirsted to be againe em-

ploy'd under him, and was preparing the rest of the regiment to carry after them himselfe, when he was inform'd, that assoone as his troopes came into Scotland, Cromwell very readily receiv'd them, but would not let them march together, but disperst them, to fill up the regiments of those who were more his creatures. The collonell hearing this, would not carry him any more, but rather employ'd himselfe in securing, as much as was necessary, his owne country, for which he was sent downe by the councell of state, who at that time were very much surpris'd att hearing that the king of Scots was past by Cromwell, and enter'd with a greate armie into England. Bradshaw himselfe, as stout-hearted as he was, privately could not conceale his feare: some raged and utter'd sad discontents against Cromwell, and suspitions of his fidelity, they all considering that Cromwell was behind, of whom I think they scarce had any account, or of his intention, or how this error came about, to suffer the enemie to enter here, where there was no armie to encounter him. Both the city and country, (by the angrie presbyters, wavering in their constancy to them and the liberties they had purchas'd), were all amaz'd, and doubtfull of their owne and the commonwealth's safety. Some could not hide very

pale and unmanly feares, and were in such distraction of spiritt, as much disturb'd their councills. Coll. Hutchinson, who ever had most vigour and chearefullnesse, when there was most danger, encourag'd them as they were one day in a private councill, raging and crying out on Cromwell's miscarriages, to applie themselves to councills of safety, and not to lose time in accusing others, while they might yet provide to save the endanger'd realme, at least to fall nobly in defence of it, and not to yield to feare and despaire. These and such like things being urg'd, at length they recollected themselves, and every man that had courage and interest in their countries, went downe to looke to them. * Coll. Hutchinson came downe into Nottinghamshire, and secur'd those who were suspitious to make any commotion, and putt the country into such a posture of defence as the time would permitt. But it was not long before the king chose

* The trepidation of the council of state, and the zeal with which they were supported, are well described by Whitelock. Whether Cromwell suffered the king to pass by him designedly or otherwise, is uncertain; but it is very likely that he did it by design, as knowing that those who did not like, for the same reason as Coll. Hutchinson, to send forces to him, would, for their own sakes, bring them forward to oppose the king. Either his fortune or his judgment was great.

another way, and went to Worcester. Cromwell following swiftly after with his armie, and other forces meeting him from severall other parts, they fought with the king and his Scotts, totally routed and subdued him, and he, with difficulty, after concealment in an oake and many other shifts, stole away into France.

When the collonell hear'd how Cromwell us'd his troopes, he was confirm'd that he and his associates in the armie, were carrying on designes of private ambition, and resolv'd that none should share with them in the commands of the army or forts of the nation, but such as would be beasts, and ridden upon by the proud chiefes. Disdaining, therefore, that what he had preserv'd for the liberty of his country, should be a curb upon them, and foreseeing that some of Cromwell's creatures would at length be put in, to exercise him with continuall affronts, and to hinder any man from standing up for the deliverance of the country, if the insolence of the army (which he too sadly foresaw) should put them upon it; for this reason, in Cromwell's absence, he procur'd an order for the remoove of the garrison at Nottingham, which was commanded by his kinsman Maior Poulton, into the marching army, and the demollishing

of the place ; which accordingly was speedily executed.

When Maior Poulton, who had all along bene very faithfull and active in the cause, brought his men to the armie, he was entertain'd with such affronts and neglects by the generall, that he voluntarily quitted his command, and retir'd to the ruin'd place, where the castle was which he had bought with his arrears. * When Cromwell came back through

* The machinations of Cromwell are spoken of in general terms by Rapin, Whitelock, and others ; but no where so well detailed as here. Of all things the most necessary to Cromwell was to obtain soldiers and subaltern officers perfectly subservient to his own purposes, but this he could hope to effect *then and then only*, when he had deprived them of such superior officers as would have preserved them from deception, and have kept them faithful to their country. The present and similar occurrences furnished him with the means so to do, which he employed most assiduously. Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 21. " And thus the troops of the parliament, who were not " raised out of the meanest of the people and without " distinction, as other armies had been ; but consisted of " such as had engaged themselves from a spirit of liberty " in the defence of their rights and religion ; were corrupted by him, kept as a standing force against the " people, taught to forget their first engagements, and " rendered as mercenary as other troops are accustomed " to be." From about this period, then, we may date the change of sentiment of the army in general, and of course

the country and saw the castle pull'd downe, he was heartily vext at it, and told Coll. Hutchinson, that if he had bene there, when it was voted, he should not have suffer'd it. The collonell replied, that he had procur'd it to be done, and believ'd it to be his duty to ease the people of charge, when there was no more need of it.

When Cromwell came to London, there wanted not some little creatures of his, in the house, who had taken notice of all that had bene say'd of him when he let the king slip by; how some stuck not in their feare and rage to call him traytor, and to threaten his head. These reports added spurres to his ambition, but that his sonne-in-law, Ireton, deputy of Ireland, would not be wrought to serve him, but hearing of his machinations, determin'd to come over to England to endeavour to divert him from such destructive courses. * But God cutt him short by death,

the change of opinion respecting them in the minds of Coll. Hutchinson and others who before had sided with them.

* If this intention of Ireton is mentioned by any other person, it has escaped the search of the editor, it may have been known *with certainty* by Mr. Hutchinson alone: but something of the kind seems to have been in the *contemplation* of Whitelock when he regrets his death, on ac-

and whether his body, or an empty coffin, was brought into England, something in his name came to London, and was to be, by Cromwell's procurement, magnificently buried among the kings at Westminster. Collonell Hutchinson was, after his brother, one of the neerest kinsmen he had, but Cromwell, who of late studied him neglects, past him by, and neither sent him mourning, nor particular invitation to the funerall, only the speaker gave publick notice in the house, that all the members were desired to attend him; and such was the flattery of many pittifull lords and other gentlemen, parasites, that they put

count of the influence he had over the mind of Cromwell, which has been remarked in a former note; as likewise the probability that the prolongation of his life might have made a great difference in the conduct of Cromwell. What is said of his funeral well agrees with what is stated by Ludlow, who adds, that "Ireton would have despised these poms, having erected for himself a more glorious monument in the hearts of good men, by his affection to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial justice, his diligence in the public service, and his other virtues, which were a far greater honour to his memory, than a dormitory among the ashes of kings; who, for the most part, as they had governed others by their passions, so were they as much governed by them." For the rest, Coll. Hutchinson's reproof to Cromwell was a pithy one!

themselves into deepe mourning; but Coll. Hutchinson that day putt on a scarlett cloak, very richly laced, such as he usually wore, and comming into the roome where the members were, seeing some of the lords in mourning, he went to them to enquire the cause, who told him they had put it on to honor the general; and askt again, why he, that was a kinsman, was in such a different colour? He told them, because the generall had neglected sending to him, when he had sent to many that had no alliance, only to make up the traine, he was resolv'd he would not flatter so much as to buy for himselfe, although he was a true mourner in his heart for his cousin, whom he had ever lov'd, and would therefore go and take his place among his mourners. This he did, and went into the roome where the close mourners were; who seeing him come in, as different from mourning as he could make himselfe, the alderman came to him, making a greate apologie that they mistooke and thought he was out of towne, and had much iniur'd themselves thereby, to whom it would have bene one of their greatest honors to have had his assistance in the befitting habitt, as now it was their shame to have neglected him. But Cromwell, who had order'd all things, was peek'd horribly att it, though

he dissembled his resentment at that time, and ioyn'd in excusing the neglect ; but he very well understood that the collonell neither out of ignorance nor niggardize came in that habitt, but publickely to reproach their neglects.

After the death of Ireton, Lambert was voted deputy of Ireland, and commander-in-chiefe there, who being at that time in the north, was exceedingly elevated with the honor, and courted all Fairfax his old commanders, and other gentlemen, who, upon his promises of preferment, quitted their places, and many of them came to London and made him up there a very proud traine, which still exalted him, so that too soone he put on the prince, immediately laying out five thousand pounds for his owne particular equipage, and looking upon all the parliament men, who had conferr'd this honour on him, as underlings, and scarce worth the greate man's nod. This untimely declaration of his pride gave greate offence to the parliament, who having only given him a commission for six months for his deputyship, made a vote that, after the expiration of that time, the presidency of the civil and military power of that nation should no more be in his nor in any one man's hands againe. This vote was upon Cromwell's pro-

curement, who hereby design'd to make way for his new sonne-in-law, Coll. Fleetewood, who had married the widdow of the late deputy Ireton. There went a story that as my lady Ireton was walking in St. James's Park, the lady Lambert, as proud as her husband, came by where she was, and as the present princesse alwayes hath precedency of the relict of the dead prince, so she put my lady Ireton below; who, notwithstanding her piety and humility, was a little griev'd att the affront. Coll. Fleetewood being then present, in mourning for his wife, who died at the same time her lord did, tooke occasion to introduce himselfe, and was immediately accepted by the lady and her father, who design'd thus to restore his daughter to the honor she was fallen from. His plott tooke as himselfe could wish, for Lambert, who saw himselfe thus cutt off from halfe his exaltation, sent the house an insolent message, "that if they found him so unworthy of the honor they had given him as so soone to repent it, he would not retard their remedie for six months, but was ready to surrender their commission before he enter'd into his office." They tooke him att his worde, and made Fleetewood deputy, and Ludlow commander of the horse; whereupon Lambert, with a heart full of spite, mal-

lice, and revenge, retreated to his pallace at Wimbledon, and sate there watching an opportunity to destroy the parliament.

Cromwell, although he chiefly wrought this businesse in the house, yett flatter'd with Lambert, and, having another reach of ambition in his brest, helpt to enflame Lambert against those of the parliament who were not his creatures, and to cast the odium of his disgrace upon them, and professe his owne clearnesse in it, and pittie of him, that should be drawne into such an inconvenience as the charge of putting himselfe into equipage, and the loss of all that provision; which Cromwell, pretending generosity, tooke all upon his owne account, and deliver'd him of the debt. Lambert dissembled againe on his part, and insinuated himself into Cromwell, fomenting his ambition to take the administration of all the conquer'd nations into his owne hands; but finding themselves not strong enough alone, they tooke to them Maior-generall Harrison, who had a greate interest both in the armie and the churches; and these, pretending a pious trouble that there were such delays in the administration of iustice, and such perverting of right, endeavour'd to bring all good men into dislike of the parliament, pretending that they would per-

petuate themselves in their honors and offices, and had no care to bring in those glorious things, for which they had so many yeares contended in blood and toyle. The parliament, on the other side, had now, by the blessing of God, restor'd the commonwealth to such a happie, rich, and plentiful condition, as it was not so flourishing before the warre, and although the taxes that were pay'd were greate, yet the people were rich and able to pay them: they (*the parliament*) were in a way of paying all the souldiers' arrears, had some hundred thousand pounds in their purses, and were free from enemies in armes within and without, except the Dutch, whom they had beaten and brought to seeke peace upon honorable termes to the English: and now they thought it was time to sweeten the people, and deliver them from their burthens. This could not be but by disbanding the unnecessary officers and souldiers, and when things were thus settled, they had prepar'd a bill to put a period to their own sitting, and provide for new successors. But when the greate officers understood that they were to resigne their honors, and no more triumph in the burthens of the people, they easily induc'd the inferior officers and souldiers to sett up for themselves with them; and while these things were

passing, Cromwell with an armed force, assisted by Lambert and Harrison, came into the house and dissolv'd the parliament, pulling out the members, foaming and raging, and calling them undeserved and base names; and when the speaker refused to come out of his chaire, Harrison pluckt him out. These gentlemen having done this, tooke to themselves the administration of all things, and a few slaves of the house consulted with them, and would have truckled under them, but not many. Meanwhile they and their souldiers could no way palliate their rebellion, but by making false criminations of the parliament men, as that they meant to perpetuate themselves in honor and office, that they had gotten vast estates, and perverted iustice for gaine, and were imposing upon men for conscience, and a thousand such like things, which time manifested to be false, and truth retorted all upon themselves that they had iniuriously cast at the others. *

* Almost all the historical writers who have treated of these times concur in depreciating this parliament, and represent them as a small number or junto whose principal view was to perpetuate themselves in the enjoyment of power and honours. Those readers who desire to form a true judgment of this matter will be materially assisted by comparing the passages here before them with White-

At that time that the parliament was broken up Coll. Hutchinson was in the country, where, since his going in his course out of the council of state, he had for about a year's

lock, and more particularly with the first twenty pages of the second volume of Ludlow; they will find that sort of consonance which is the best mark of truth, viz. the recital of different circumstances tending to establish one and the same principal fact. They will then be convinced that the great men who were in that time at the head of affairs had conducted them in a manner worthy of themselves, and had brought the nation to a state of prosperity which nothing less than a miracle can ever again bring it to, and which Mrs. Hutchinson describes in few and simple, but impressive words; *the people rich, the revenue great, debts paid, money in their purses, free from enemies within and without.* They had concluded with reforming the abuses of the law, and providing for their being succeeded by a fair and equal representation of the people, which all confess still to be the grand desideratum of our constitution. And it was the very circumstance of the act being on the anvil, ready to receive the finishing stroke, that obliged Cromwell to act with such precipitation as staggered his confederates.

From all which will arise these corollaries or deductions; that a state, however great, may be governed in a republican form, and every department properly filled and administered. But that no sufficient barrier has yet been found against a military chief, who has popularity, address, and ambition, to become the tyrant of it. And in the end recourse must be had to hereditary succession, from whence they at first departed.

time applied himselfe, when the parliament could dispense with his absence, to the administration of iustice in the country, and to the putting in execution of those wholesome laws and statutes of the land provided for the orderly regulation of the people. And it was wonderful how, in a short space, he reform'd severall abuses and customary neglects in that part of the country where he liv'd, which being a rich fruitfull vale, drew abundance of vagrant people to come and exercise the idle trade of wandering and begging; but he tooke such courses that there was very suddenly not a beggar left in the country, and all the poore in every towne so maintain'd and provided for, as they never were so liberally maintain'd and reliev'd before nor since. He procur'd unnecessary alehouses to be putt downe in all the townes, and if any one that he heard of suffer'd any disorder or debauchery in his house, he would not suffer him to brew any more. He was a little severe against drunkennesse, for which the drunkards, would sometimes raile att him; but so were all the children of darknesse convinc'd by his light, that they were in awe more of his vertue then his authority. In this time he had made himselfe a convenient house*,

* Pained and disgusted as the mind of the reader must be with the tumults, anarchy, and crimes, it has witnessed,

whereof he was the best ornament, and an example of virtue so prevailing, as metamor-

how welcome is the contemplation of this ease and leisure, devoted to elegant studies, virtuous pursuits, useful occupations, gentleman-like amusements, rational converse, and conciliating hospitality ! How difficult will it be to him to believe that this *otium cum dignitate* is the honourable retreat of one of those *gloomy Fanatics* whose tyranny Rapin says had become intolerable to the nation ?

About thirty years ago it was the fate of the Editor to visit this mansion of his ancestors, in order to bring away a few pictures and some books, all that remained to him of those possessions, where they had lived with so much merited love and honour. Although he had not then read these memoirs, yet having heard Col. Hutchinson spoken of as an extraordinary person, and that he had built, planted, and formed, all that was to be seen there ; the country adjoining being a dreary waste, many thousand acres together being entirely overrun with gorse or furze ; he viewed the whole with the utmost attention. He found there a house, of which he has the drawing, large, handsome, lofty, and convenient, and though but little ornamented, possessing all the grace that size and symmetry could give it. The entrance was by a flight of handsome steps into a large hall, occupying entirely the centre of the house, lighted at the entrance by two large windows, but at the further end by one much larger, in the expanse of which was carried up a stair-case that seemed to be perfectly in the air. On one side of the hall was a long table, on the other a large fire-place ; both suited to ancient hospitality. On the right-hand side of this hall were three handsome rooms for the entertainment of guests. The sides of the stair-case and gallery were hung with pictures, and both served as an orchestra either to the

phos'd many evill people, while they were under his rooffe, into another appearance of sobriety and holinesse.

hall or to a large room over part of it, which was a ball-room. To the left of the hall were the rooms commonly occupied by the family. All parts were built so substantially, and so well secured, that neither fire nor thieves could penetrate from room to room, nor from one flight of stairs to another, if ever so little resisted.

The house stood on a little eminence in the vale of Belvoir, at a small distance from the foot of those hills along which the Roman foss-way from Leicester runs. The western side of the house was covered by the offices, small village, and church, interspersed with many trees. The south, which was the front of entrance, looked over a large extent of grass-grounds which were the demesne, and were bounded by hills covered with wood which Col. Hutchinson had planted. On the eastern side, the entertaining rooms opened on to a terrace, which encircled a very large bowling-green or level lawn; next to this had been a flower-garden, and next to that a shrubbery, now become a wood, through which vistas were cut to let in a view of Langar, the seat of Lord Howe, at two miles, and of Belvoir-castle, at seven miles' distance, which, as the afternoon sun sat full upon it, made a glorious object: at the further end of this small wood was a spot (of about ten acres) which appeared to have been a morass, and through which ran a rivulet: this spot Col. Hutchinson had dug into a great number of canals, and planted the ground between them, leaving room for walks, so that the whole formed at once a wilderness or bower, reservoirs for fish, and a decoy for wild fowl. To the north, at some hundred yards' distance, was a lake of

He was going up to attend the business of

water, which filling the space between two quarters of woodland, appeared, as viewed from the large window of the hall, like a moderate river, and beyond this the eye rested on the wolds or high wilds which accompany the foss-way towards Newark. — The whole had been deserted near forty years, but resisted the ravages of time so well as to discover the masterly hand by which it had been planned and executed. But the most extraordinary and gratifying circumstance was the veneration for the family which still subsisted, and which, at the period when the last possessor had by his will ordered this and all his estates in Notts to be sold, and the produce given to *strangers*, induced the tenants to offer a large advance of their rents, and a good share of the money necessary for purchasing the estates, in order to enable the remains of the family to come and reside again among them. — It was too late! the steward had contracted with the executors, and resold the most desirable part, where the timber of Col. Hutchinson's planting was valued at many thousand pounds! The editor could only retire repeating Virgil's first Eclogue:

*Nos patriæ fines, et dulcia linquimus arva.
Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia cives
Perduxit miseros! en queis consecvimus agros.*

Round the wide world in banishment we roam,
Forc'd from our pleasing fields and native home:
Did we for these barbarians plant and sow,
On these, on these our happy fields bestow?
Good heav'ns! what dire effects from civil discord flow

DRYDEN.

his country above, when newes met him upon the roade, neere London, that Cromwell had broken the parliament. Notwithstanding he went on and found divers of the members there, resolv'd to submit to this providence of God, and to waite till he should cleare their integritie, and to disprove these people who had tax'd them of ambition, by sitting still, when they had friends enough in the armie, city, and country, to have disputed the matter, and probably vanquisht these usurpers. They thought that if they should vex the land by warre among themselves, the late subdued enemies, royallists and presbiterians, would have an opportunity to prevaile on their dissensions, to the ruine of both : if these should govern well, and righteously, and moderately, they should enjoy the benefitt of their good government, and not envy them the honorable toyle ; if they did otherwise, they should be ready to assist and vindicate their opprest countrie, when the ungratefull people were made sensible of their true champions and protectors. Coll. Hutchinson, in his owne particular, was very glad of this release from that employment, which he manag'd with fidelity and uprightness, but not only without delight, but with a greate deale of trouble and expence, in the

contest for truth and righteousness upon all occasions.

The only recreation he had during his residence at London was in seeking out all the rare artists he could heare of, and in considering their workes in payntings, sculptures, gravings, and all other such curiosities, inso-much that he became a greate virtuoso and patrone of ingenuity. Being loath that the land should be disfurnisht of all the rarities that were in it, whereof many were sett to sale in the king's and divers noblemen's collections, he lay'd out about two thousand pounds in the choycest pieces of painting, most of which were bought out of the king's goods, which were given to his servants to pay their wages: to them the collonell gave ready money, and bought so good pennieworths, that they were vallued much more worth then they cost.* These he brought

* That the conduct of Col. Hutchinson differed from that of most other men in power at that time, and brought a seasonable relief to the king's servants and creditors, appears from two passages in the History of Independency, p. 146. and 184. "The king's servants and creditors starve for want of their own, while the members appropriate his furniture to their own use instead of selling it to pay debts." "The king's servants and creditors may gape long enough before they sell the king's goods to pay debts."

down into the country, intending a very neat cabinett for them; and these, with the surveying of his buildings, and emprooving by enclosure the place he liv'd in, employ'd him att home, and, for a little time, hawkes abroad: but when a very sober fellow, that never was guilty of the usuall vices of that generation of men, rage and swearing, died, he gave over his hawkes, and pleas'd himselfe with musick, and againe fell to the practice of his violl, on which he play'd excellently well, and entertaining tutors for the diversion and education of his children in all sorts of musick, he pleas'd himselfe in these innocent recreations during Oliver's mutuable reigne. As he had greate delight, so he had greate iudgment, in musick, and advanc'd his children's practise more then their tutors: he also was a greate supervisor of their learning, and indeed himselfe a tutor to them all, besides all those tutors which he liberally entertain'd in his house for them. He spared not any cost for the education of both his sons and daughters in languages, sciences, musick, dancing, and all other quallities befitting their father's house. He was himselfe their instructor in humillity, sobrietie, and all godlinessse and vertue, which he rather strove to make them exercise with love and delight

then by constraint. As other things were his delight, this only he made his businesse, to attend the education of his children, and the government of his owne house and towne. This he perform'd so well that never was any man more fear'd and loved then he by all his domesticks, tenants, and hired workmen. He was loved with such a feare and reverence as restrein'd all rude familiariety and insolent presumptions in those who were under him, and he was fear'd with so much love that they all delighted to do his pleasure.

As he maintain'd his authority in all relations, so he endeavour'd to make their subiection pleasant to them, and rather to convince them by reason then compell them to obedience, and would decline even to the lowest of his famely to make them enioy their lives in sober cheerfullnesse, and not find their duties burthensome.

As for the publick businesse of the country, he could not act in any office under the protector's power, and therefore confin'd himselfe to his owne, which the whole country about him were griev'd at, and would rather come to him for counsell as a private neighbour then to any of the men in power for greater helpe.

He now being reduc'd into an absolute private condition, was very much courted and visited by all of all parties, and, while the grand quarrell slept, and both the victors and vanquish'd were equall slaves under the new usurpers, there was a very kind correspondence betweene him and all his countrymen. As he was very hospitable, and his conversation no lesse desirable and pleasant, then instructive and advantageous, his house was much resorted to, and as kindly open to those who had in publick contests bene his enemies, as to his continued friends; for there never lived a man that had lesse mallice and revenge, nor more reconcileablenesse and kindnesse and generosity in his nature, then he.

In the interim Cromwell and his armie grew wanton with their power, and invented a thousand tricks of government, which, when nobody oppos'd, they themselves fell to dislike and vary every day. First he calls a parliament out of his owne pockett, himselfe naming a sort of godly men for every county, who meeting and not agreeing, a part of them, in the name of the people, give up the sovereignty to him. Shortly after he makes up severall sorts of mock parliaments, but not finding one of them absolutely for his turne, turn'd them off againe. He soone quitted

himselfe of his triumvirs, and first thrust out Harrison, then tooke away Lambert's commission, and would have bene king but for feare of quitting his generallship. He weeded, in a few months time, above a hundred and fifty godly officers out of the armie, with whom many of the religious souldiers went off, and in their roome abundance of the king's dissolute souldiers were entertain'd, and the armie was almost chang'd from that godly religious armie, whose vallour God had crown'd with triumph, into the dissolute armie they had beaten, bearing yett a better name. His wife and children were setting up for principallity, which suited no better with any of them then scarlett on the ape; only to speak the truth of himselfe, he had much naturall greatnesse, and well became the place he had usurp'd. His daughter Fleetewood was humbled, and not exalted with these things, but the rest were insolent fooles. Cleypoole, who married his daughter, and his son Henry, were two debauch'd ungodly cavaliers. Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatnesse. His court was full of sinne and vanity, and the more abominable, because they had not yett quite cast away the name of God, but prophan'd it by taking it in vaine upon them.

True religion was now almost lost, even among the religious party, and hipocrisie became an epidemicall disease, to the sad grieve of Coll. Hutchinson, and all true-hearted Christians and Englishmen. Allmost all the ministers every where fell in and worshipt this beast, and courted and made addresses to him. So did the city of London, and many of the degenerate lords of the land, with the poore-spirited gentry. The cavaliers, in pollicy, who saw that while Cromwell reduc'd all the exercise of tirannicall power under another name, there was a doore open'd for the restoring of their party, fell much in with Cromwell, and heighten'd all his disorders. He at last exercis'd such an arbitrary power that the whole land grew weary of him, while he set up a companie of silly meane fellows, call'd maior-generalls, as governors in every country. These rul'd according to their wills, by no law but what seem'd good in their owne eies, imprisoning men, obstructing the course of iustice betweene man and man, perverting right through partiality, acquitting some that were guilty, and punishing some that were innocent as guilty. Then he exercis'd another proiect to rayse mony, by decimation of the estates of all the king's party, of which actions 'tis said Lambert was the instigator. At last he tooke upon

him to make lords and knights, and wanted not many fooles, both of the armie and gentry, to accept of and strutt in his mock titles.* Then the Earle of Warwick's grandchild and the Lord Falconbridge married his two daugh-

* The description given of the usurpation of Cromwell and his myrmidons, concise and contemptuous as it is, will be found perfectly just. With all his professions he did little else but deteriorate that state of things in which the parliament had left them: he patched up a much worse peace with the Dutch than the parliament would have made: to gratify or serve his personal views he assisted the French against the Spaniards, and for ever weakened that power which would now have supported this nation against so dangerous a neighbour. Ireland he depopulated by encouraging the cavalier chiefs to emigrate with their adherents into foreign services. At home he rendered the very names of religion and liberty contemptible, and paved the way for the return of the Stuarts. Mrs. Hutchinson mentions nothing of a circumstance which perhaps she did not know, or, if she did, passed it over as beneath notice: the following letter shows the nature of it.

Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 299., Major-general Whalley writes to the protector: "For the town of Nottingham, I have a great influence upon it; they will not choose any without my advice. The honest part of the county have of late, which I much wonder at, nominated Col. Hutchinson to me, as not knowing better to pitch to make up the fourth man, he having satisfied some of them concerning his judgment of the present government; but I hope what I have hinted to them will cause them to think upon some other."

ters; such pittifull slaves were the nobles of those dayes. Att last Lambert, perceiving himselfe to have bene all this while deluded with hopes and promises of succession, and seeing that Cromwell now intended to confirme the government in his owne famely, fell off from him, but behav'd himselfe very pittifully and meanly, was turned out of all his places, and return'd againe to plott new vengeance at his house at Wimbleton, where he fell to dresse his flowers in his garden, and worke at the needle with his wife and his maides, while he was watching an oppertunity to serve againe his ambition, which had this difference from the protector's; the one was gallant and greate, the other had nothing but an unworthy pride, most insolent in prosperity, and as abiect and base in adversity.*

The cavaliers, seeing their victors thus beyond their hopes falling into their hands, had not patience to stay till things ripen'd of themselves, but were every day forming designes,

* A life of Lambert has been very obligingly put into the hands of the editor, together with some other scarce tracts relating to those times by Mr. White, jun., of Lincoln's Inn, who had collected them in the north of England, where Lambert resided. He seems to have enjoyed a better reputation among his countrymen; his horticulture is therein much spoken of, and he is said to have *painted* flowers, not to have *embroidered* them.

and plotting for the murder of Cromwell, and other insurrections, which being contriv'd in drinke, and manag'd by false and cowardly fellows, were still reveal'd to Cromwell, who had most excellent intelligence of all things that past, even in the king's closett; and by these unsuccessfull plotts they were the only obstructors of what they sought to advance, while, to speake truth, Cromwell's personall courage and magnanimity upheld him against all enemies and malcontents. His owne armie dislik'd him, and once when sevenscore officers had combin'd to crosse him in something he was persuing, and engag'd one to another, Lambert being the chiefe, with solemne promises and invocations to God, the protector hearing of it, overaw'd them all, and told them, "it was not they who upheld him, but "he them," and rated them, and made them understand what pittifull fellows they were; whereupon they all, like rated dogs, clapp'd their tayles betweene their leggs, and begg'd his pardon, and left Lambert to fall alone, none daring to owne him publickly, though many in their hearts wisht him the sovereignty. Some of the Lambertionians had at that time a plott to come with a petition to Cromwell, and, while he was reading it, certeine of them had undertaken to cast him out of a windore

at Whitehall that lookt upon the Thames, where others should be ready to catch him up in a blankett, if he scap'd breaking his neck, and carrie him away in a boate prepar'd for the purpose to kill or keepe him alive, as they saw occasion, and then sett up Lambert. This was so carried on that it was neere the execution before the protector knew anie thing of it. Coll. Hutchinson being at that time at London, by chance came to know all the plott; certeine of the conspirators coming into a place where he was, and not being so cautious of their whispers to each other before him, but that he apprehended something, which making use of to others of the confederates, he at last found out the whole matter, without being committed to him as a matter of trust, but carelessly throwne downe in pieces before him, which he gather'd together, and became perfectly acquainted with the whole designe; and weighing it, and iudging that Lambert would be the worse tirant of the two, he determin'd to prevent it, without being the author of any man's punishment. Hereupon having occasion to see Fleetwood, (for he had never seene the protector since his usurpation, but publickly declar'd his testimony against it to all the tirant's minions,) he bade Fleetwood wish him to have a care of petitioners, by whom he ap-

prehended danger to his life. Fleetwood desir'd a more particular information, but the collonell was resolv'd he would give him no more then to prevent that enterprize which he dislik'd. For indeed those who were deeply engag'd, rather waited to see the cavaliers in arms against him, and then thought it the best time to arme for their owne defence, and either make a new conquest, or fall with swords in their hands. Therefore they all conniv'd at the cavaliers attempts, and although they ioyn'd not with them, would not have been sorrie to have seene them up upon equal termes with the protector, that then a third party, which was ready both with arms and men, when there was oppertunity, might have fallen in and capitulated with swords in their hands, for the settlement of the rights and liberties of the good people: but God had otherwise determin'd of things; and now men began so to flatter with this tirant, so to apostatize from all faith, honesty, religion, and English liberty, and there was such a devillish practise of trepanning growne in fashion, that it was not safe to speake to any man in those treacherous days.

After Coll. Hutchinson had given Fleetwood that caution, he was going into the country, when the protector sent to search him out with

all the earnestnesse and haste that could possibly be, and the collonell went to him ; who mett him in one of the galleries, and receiv'd him with open armes and the kindest embraces that could be given, and complain'd that the collonell should be so unkind as never to give him a visitt, professing how wellcome he should have bene, the most wellcome person in the land, and with these smooth insinuations led him allong to a private place, giving him thanks for the advertisement he had receiv'd from Fleetwood, and using all his art to gett out of the collonell the knowledge of the persons engag'd in the conspiracy against him. But none of his cunning, nor promises, nor flatteries, could prevaile with the collonell to informe him more then he thought necessary to prevent the execution of the designe, which when the protector perceiv'd, he gave him most infinite thanks for what he had told him, and acknowledg'd it open'd to him some mysteries that had perplext him, and agreed so with other intelligence he had, that he must owe his preservation to him: " But," says he, " deare collonell, why will not you come in " and act among us?" The collonell told him plainly, because he liked not any of his wayes since he broke the parliament, as being those which led to certeine and unavoidable destruc-

tion, not only of themselves, but of the whole parliament party and cause, and thereupon tooke occasion, with his usuall freedom, to tell him into what a sad hazard all things were put, and how apparent a way was made for the restitution of all former tyranny and bondage. Cromwell seem'd to receive this honest plainnesse with the greatest affection that could be, and acknowledg'd his precipitateness in some things, and with teares complain'd how Lambert had put him upon all those violent actions, for which he now accus'd him and sought his ruine. He expresst an earnest desire to restore the people's liberties, and to take and pursue more safe and sober counsellors, and wound up all with a very faire courtship of the collonell to engage with him, offering him any thing he would account worthy of him. The collonell told him, he could not be forward to make his owne advantage, by serving to the enslaving of his country. The other told him, he intended nothing more then the restoring and confirming the liberties of the good people, in order to which he would employ such men of honor and interest as the people should rejoyce, and he should not refuse to be one of them. And after, with all his arts, he had endeavour'd to excuse his publique actions, and to draw in the collonell; who againe had

taken the opportunity to tell him freely his owne and all good men's discontents and dissatisfactions; he dismiss the collonell with such expressions as were publickly taken notice of by all his little courtiers then about him, when he went to the end of the gallery with the collonell, and there, embracing him, sayd allowd to him, "Well, collonell, satisfied or dissatisfied, you shall be one of us, for we can no longer exempt a person so able and faithfull from the publique service, and you shall be satisfied in all honest things." The collonell left him with that respect that became the place he was in; when immediately the same courtiers, who had some of them past him by without knowing him when he came in, although they had bene once of his familiar acquaintance, and the rest who had look'd upon him with such disdainfull neglect as those little people use to those who are not of their faction, now flockt about him, striving who should expresse most respect, and, by an extraordinary officiousnesse, redeeme their late slightings. Some of them desir'd he would command their service in any businesse he had with their lord, and a thousand such frivolous compliments, which the collonell smiled att, and quitting himselfe of them as soone as he could, made hast to returne into the coun-

try. There he had not long bene but that he was inform'd, notwithstanding all these faire shewes, the protector finding him too constant to be wrought upon to serve his tirannie, had resolv'd to secure his person, least he should head the people, who now grew very weary of his bondage. But though it was certainly confirm'd to the collonell how much he was afraid of his honesty and freedome, and that he was resolv'd not to let him longer be att liberty, yet, before his guards apprehended the collonell, death imprison'd himselfe, and confin'd all his vast ambition and all his cruell designs into the narrow compasse of a grave. His armie and court substituted his eldest sonne, Richard, in his roome, who was a meeke, temperate, and quiett man, but had not a spiritt fit to succeed his father, or to manage such a perplexed government.

The people being vexed with the pockett-parliaments, and the maior-generalls of the counties, like bashaws, were now all muttering to have a free parliament, after the old manner of elections, without engaging those that were chosen to any terms. Those at Richard's court, that knew his father's counsellors to prevent Coll. Hutchinson from being chosen in his owne country, counsell'd Richard to pricke him for sheriffe of the county of

Nottingham, which assoone as he understood, he writt him a letter, declaring his resentment in such a civill manner as became the person. Richard return'd a very obliging answer, denying any intention in himselfe to shew the least disfavour to him for former dissents, but rather a desire to engage his kindnesse. And soone after, when the collonell went himselfe to London and went to the young protector, he told him, that since God had call'd him to the government, it was his desire to make men of uprightness and interest his associates, to rule by their counsell and assistance, and not to enslave the nation to an armie; and that if by them he had bene putt upon any thing preiudiciall or disobliging to the collonell in pricking him for sheriffe, he should endeavour to take it of, or to serve him any other way, assoone as he had disentangled himselfe from the officers of the armie, who att present constrein'd him in many things, and therefore if the collonell would please, without unkindnesse, to exercise this office, he should receive it as an obligation, and seek one more acceptable to him after. The collonell seeing him herein good-natur'd enough, was persuaded by a very wise friend of his to take it upon him, and return'd well enough satisfied with the courteous usage

of the protector. This gentleman who had thus counsell'd the collonell, was as considerable and as wise a person as any was in England, who did not openly appeare among Richard's adherents or counsellors, but privately advis'd him, and had a very honorable designe of bringing the nation into freedom under this young man; who was so flexible to good councells, that there was nothing desirable in a prince which might not have been hoped in him, but a greate spiritt and a iust title: the first of which sometimes doth more hurt then good in a soveraigne; the latter would have bene supplied by the people's deserved approbation. This person was very free to impart to the collonell all the designe of settling the state under this single person, and the hopes of felicity in such an establishment. The collonell debating this with him, told him, that if ever it were once fixt in a single person, and the army taken off, which could not consist with the liberty of the people, it could not be prevented from returning to the late eicted family; and that on whatever termes they return'd, it was folly to hope the people's cause, which, with such blood and expence, had bene asserted, should not utterly be overthrowne. To this the gentleman gave many strong reasons, why that

family could not be restor'd, without the ruine of the people's liberty and of all their champions, and thought that these carried so much force with them, that it would never be attempted, even by any royallist that retain'd any love to his country, and that the establishing this single person would satisfie that faction, and compose all the differences, bringing in all of all parties that were men of interest and love to their country. Although the businesse was very speciously lay'd, and the man such a one whose authority was sufficient to sway in any state, the collonell was not much opiniated of the things he propounded, but willing to waite the event; being in himselfe more perswaded that the people's freedome would be best maintain'd in a free republick, deliver'd from the shackles of their encroaching slaves the army. * This

* The mention of this political discussion without the name of the principal speaker in it, naturally awakens curiosity and excites to conjecture. The judicious writer of the critique on this work in the Annual Review, combines this with a passage at p. 287., and supposes the secret there referred to, and which endeavours were in vain used to draw from Mrs. Hutchinson, to be the same thing as is here hinted at: it is highly probable that it is so; and as no evil could now result from a discovery, the editor has taken pains to effect one, he believes with success — though when the grounds of his conjecture are laid before the reader, he will judge for himself.

was now not mutter'd but openly asserted by all but the army: although of those who contended for it, there were two sorts; some that really thought it the most conducive to the people's good and freedome; others that, by this pretence, hoped to pull downe the army and the protectorian faction, and then restore the old famely. It is believ'd that Richard himselfe was compounded with, to have resign'd the place that was too greate for him; certeine it is that his poore spiritt was likely enough to doe any such thing. The army perceiving they had sett up a wretch who durst not reigne, that there was a convention mett, by their owne assent, who were ready, with a seeming face of authority of parliament, to restore the Stewarts, were greatly distrest; finding alsoe that the whole nation was bent against them, and would not beare their yoake; having therefore no refuge to save them from being torne in pieces by the people, and to deliver them from their owne puppitts who had sold and betray'd them, they found out some of the members of that glorious parliament which they had violently driven from their seates with a thousand slanderous criminations and untrue. To these they counterfeited repentance, and that God had open'd their eies to see into what a mani-

fest hazard of ruine they had put the interest and people of God in these nations, so that it was almost irrecoverable, but if any hope were left, it was that God would sign it with his wonted favour, in those hands, out of which they had iniuriously taken it. Hereupon they open'd the house doores for them; and the speaker, with some few members, as many as made a house, were too hasty to return into their seates, upon capitulation with those traytors, who had brought the commonwealth into such a sad confusion. But after they were mett, they immediately sent summons to all the members throughout all England, among whom the collonell was call'd up*, and much perplexed, for now he thought his conscience, life, and fortunes againe engaged with men of mixed and different interests and princi-

* By this passage, that error which has become general, and which is to be found in Rapin, vol. ii. p. 605, is rendered palpable. He says they met in parliament to the number of forty-two: and again, p. 607, calls it a parliament of forty persons, but takes no notice of their sending summonses to all the members throughout England; but in the addition or suppression of this circumstance lies the total difference between truth and falsehood. Ludlow, who was one of them, says, vol. ii. p. 645, "That they amounted to a hundred and sixty, who had sat in the house since the seclusion of members in 1648."

ples; yet in regard of the trust formerly re-
pos'd in him, he return'd into his place, in-
finitely dissatisfied that any condescension
had bene made to the armies proposalls, whose
necessity rather then honesty had moov'd
them to counterfeit repentance and ingenuity.
This they did by a publick declaration, how
they had been seduc'd, and done wickedly in
interrupting the parliament, and that God had
never since that time own'd them and their
councells as before, and that they desir'd to
humble themselves before God and man for
the same, and to returne to their dutie in de-
fending the parliament in the discharge of
their remaining trust. According to this de-
claration, the armie kept a day of solemne
humiliation before the Lord; yet all this, as
the event after manifested, in hypocrisie *.

Now the parliament were sate, and no sooner
assembled but invaded by severall enemies.
The presbiterians had long since espoused the
royall interest, and forsaken God and the peo-
ple's cause, when they could not obtaine the
reines of government in their owne hands, and

* There are copies of this declaration extant, signed by
Lambert, Fleetwood, &c. one particularly in the hands of
John Towneley, Esq. as likewise pamphlets written at
that time, calling on the army to make the only amends
they could to the nation, by restoring the parliament.

exercise dominion over all their brethren.* It was treason by the law of those men in power, to talk of restoring the king; therefore the presbyterians must face the designe, and accordingly all the members eiectioned in 1648, now came to claime their seates in the house, whom Coll. Pride, that then guarded the parliament, turn'd back, and thereupon there was some heate in the lobbie between them and the other members. Particularly Sr. George Booth utter'd some threats, and immediately they went into their severall counties, and had laid a designe all over England, wherein all the royallists were engag'd and many of the old parliament officers; and this was so dex-

* Rapin, in a parallel passage, vol. ii. p. 61f, says, that
 “ the presbyterians, seeing no hopes of recovering the
 “ ground they had lost, agreed with the king's party to
 “ deliver the nation from the servitude to which it was
 “ reduced by an independent parliament, and an army
 “ whose officers were mostly fanaticks. The particulars
 “ and terms of this union are not known, because the
 “ historians who speak of it, being all royalists, have not
 “ thought fit to do so much honour to the presbyterians.
 “ But it cannot be concealed, that from this time they not
 “ only ceased to be the king's enemies, but very much
 “ promoted his restoration.” Behold the honour he asks
 for them granted by their greatest enemy, an independent!—As was their motive such was their reward; beginning in rage and folly, they ended in disgrace and ruin.

terously, secretly, and unanimously carried on, that before the parliament had the least intimation of it, the flame was everywhere kindled, and small parties attempting insurrections in all places; but their main strength was with Sr. George Booth in Cheshire, who there appear'd the chiefe head of the rebellion. The citie, at that time, were very wavering and false to the parliament, yett the usuall presence of God, that was with them in former times, never appear'd so eminent as now, miraculously bringing to light all the plotts against them, and scattering their enemies before the wind, making them flie when there was none to pursue them: although even in the parliament house there wanted not many close traytors and abettors of this conspiracy. It was presently voted to send an armie downe into Cheshire: but then it fell into debate who should lead. Fleetewood, upon the desposing his brother Richard (wherein he was most unworthily assistant), was made generall, but not thought a person of courage enough for this enterprize, whereupon many of Lambert's friends propounded him to the house, and undertooke for his integrity and hearty repentance for having bene formerly assistant to the protector. Coll. Hutchinson was utterly against receiving him againe into employment; but it

was the generall vote of the house, and accordingly he was brought in to receive his commission from the speaker ; who intending to accept an humble submission, he then falsely made, with high professions of fidelitie, and to returne him an encouragement, in declaring the confidence the house had in him, through mistake, made such a speech to him, as after prov'd a true prophesie of his perfidiousnesse. Many of the house tooke notice of it then only to laugh, but afterward thought some hidden impulse, the man was not sensible of, led his tongue into those mistakes. However Lambert went forth, and through the cowardize of the enemye obtain'd a very cheape victory, and returned. In Nottinghamshire Coll. White rose, only to shew his apostacy, and runne away. The Lord Biron alsoe lost himselfe and his companions in the forrest, being chac'd by a piece of the county troope. And Mr. Robert Pierrepont, the sonne of the late collonell, went out to make up the route, and runne away, and cast away some good arms into the bushes, to make his flight more easie.

During the late protector's time Coll. Hutchinson, who thought them greater usurpers on the people's liberties then the former kings, believ'd himselfe wholly disengag'd from all ties, but those which God and nature, or ra-

ther God by nature oblieges every man of honor and honesty in to his country, which is to defend or relieve it from invading tirants, as farre as he may by a lawfull call and meanes, and to suffer patiently that yoke which God submits him to, till the Lord shall take it of; and upon these principles, he seeing that authority, to which he was in duty bound, so seemingly taken quite away, thought he was free to fall in or oppose all things, as prudence should guide him, upon generall rules of conscience. These would not permitt him any way to assist any tirant or invader of the people's rights, nor to rise up against them without a manifest call from God; therefore he staid at home and busied himselfe in his owne domestick employments, and having a very liberall heart, had a house open to all worthy persons of all parties. Among these the Lord Biron, who thought that no gentleman ought to be unprovided of armes, in such an uncerteine time, had provided himself a trunck of pistolls, which were brought downe from London: but some suspicion of it, being enter'd in the protector's officers, he durst not fetch the truncke from the carrier's himselfe, but entreated the collonell to send for them to his house, and secure them there. This the collonell did, but afterward when my Lord Biron had enter'd into con-

spiracy with the enemies of the parliament, he knew that Coll. Hutchinson was not to be attempted against them, and was in greate care how to gett his armes out of the collonell's house. The collonell being of a very compassionate and charitable nature, had entertain'd into his service, some poore people, who on the enemies side had bene ruin'd, and were reduc'd from good estates to seeke that refuge ; and who counterfeited, so long as their party was downe, such sobriety, love and gratitude, and sence of their sins and miscarriages on the other side, that he hoped they had bene converts, but could not believe they would have prov'd such detestable, unthankfull traytors, as afterwards they did. Among these, Lord Biron corrupted a gentleman who waited then on the collonell, as the man after alledg'd ; my lord say'd he offer'd himselfe : however it were, the plott was lay'd that fifty men, neere the collonell's house, should be rays'd for him, and he with them should first come to the collonell's house, and take away my lord's arms, with all the rest of the collonell's that they could find. To rayse him these men, certeine neighbours, who us'd to come to the house, were very busie, and especially two parsons, he of Plumtre, and he of Bingham ; this had an active, proud, pragma-

ticall curate, who used to come to this traytor in the collonell's house, and help to manage the treason, and the chaplaine, the waiting woman, and two servants more, were drawn into the confederacy. The collonell was then at the parliament house, and only his wife and children at home, when, the night before the insurrection, Ivie (that was the gentleman's name) came to a singing boy who kept the collonell's clothes, and commanded him to deliver him the collonell's owne arms and buffe coate.

The boy was fearfull and did not readily obey him, whereupon he threatened immediately to pistoll him, if he made the least resistance, or discovery of the businesse; so the boy fetcht him the arms, and he put them on, and tooke one of the best horses and went out at midnight, telling the boy, he was a foole to feare, for the next night, before that time, there would come fifty men to fetch away all the arms in the house.

Assoone as the boy saw him quite gone, his mistresse being then in bed, he went to the chaplaine and acquainted him; but the chaplaine curs'd him for breaking his sleepe: then he went to the waiting gentlewoman, but she say'd she thought it would be unfitt to disturbe her mistresse: so the boy rested till next day, when Ivie, having fail'd of his men,

was come back againe. Then the boy, finding an opportunity after dinner, told his mistresse, that though he had bene bred a cavalier, he abhorr'd to betrey or be unfaithfull to those he serv'd; and that he had reason to suspect there was some vile conspiracy in hand, wherein Ivie was engag'd against them, and told his grounds. When Mrs. Hutchinson had heard that, she bade him keepe it private, and call'd immediately a servant that had bene a cornett of the parliament's party, and bade him goe to the county troope's captaine, and desire him to send her a guard for her husband's house, for she had intelligence that the cavaliers intended some attempt against it. Mrs. Hutchinson, asham'd to complayne of her owne famely, thought of this way of security, till she could discharge herselfe of the traytor, not knowing at that time how many more were about her. Then calling her gentlewoman, whom she thought she might trust, upon her solemne protestations of fidellity, she tooke her to assist her in hiding her plate and iewells, and what she had of value, and scrupled not to let her see the *secrett places in her house*, while the false and base dissembler went smiling up and downe at her mistresses simplicity. Meane time the man that was sent for soldiers, came back, bringing newes that the

cavaliers had risen and were beaten, and the county troope was in pursuite of them. Then alsoe the coachman, who finding himselfe not well, had borrow'd a horse to goe to Nottingham to be let blood, came home, bringing with him a cravatt and other spoyles of the enemie, which he had gotten. For when he came to the towne, hearing the cavaliers were up, he gott a case of pistolls, and thought more of shedding than loosing blood, and meeting the cavaliers in the rout, 'tis say'd, he kill'd one of them : although this rogue had engag'd to Ivie to have gone on the other side with him. Mrs Hutchinson not being willing, for all this, to take such notice of Ivie's treason as to cast him into prison, tooke him immediately to London with her, and say'd nothing till he came there. Then she told him how base and treacherous he had bene ; but to save her owne shame for having entertain'd so false a person, and for her mother's sake whom he had formerly serv'd, she was willing to dismisse him privately, without acquainting the collonell, who could not know but he must punish him. So she gave him something and turn'd him away, and told her husband she came only to acquaint him with the insurrection, and her owne feares of staying in the country without him. He being very indul-

gent, went immediately back with her, having inform'd the parliament, and receiv'd their order for going downe to looke after the securing of the country. His wife, as soone as she came downe, having learnt that the chap-laine had bene Ivie's confederate, told him privately of it, and desir'd him to find a pretence to take his leave of the collonell, that she might not be necessitated to complaine, and procure him the punishment his treason deserv'd. He went away thus, but so farre from being wrought upon, that he hated her to the death for her kindnesse.

The collonell having sett things in order in the country, had an intent to have carried his famely that winter with him to London; when iust that weeke he was going, news was brought that Lambert had once more turn'd out the parliament, and the collonell reioyc'd in his good fortune that he was not present.

Lambert was exceedingly pufft up with his cheape victory, and caiol'd his souldiers, and, before he return'd to London, sett on foote among them their old insolent way of prescribing to the parliament by way of petition.

The parliament, after the submission of the armie, had voted that there should no more be a generall over them, but to keepe that power in their owne hands, that all the officers

should take their commissions immediately from the speaker.* The conspiracy of the armie, to gett a leader in their rebellion, was layd, that they should petition for generalls and such like things as might facilitate their intents. Among others that were taken in arms against the parliament Lord Castleton was one of the chiefe heads of the insurrection. Him Lambert brought along with him in his coach, not now as a prisoner, but unguarded, as one that was to be honour'd. The parliament hearing of this, sent and fetcht him out of his company and committed him to prison, and then the army's sawcy petition was deliver'd, and, upon the insolent carriage of nine collonells, they were by vote disbanded. Lambert being one of them, came in a hostile manner and pluckt the members out of the house; Fleetewood, whom they trusted to

* It was a great oversight that they had not taken this course from the beginning: for although it is very difficult for a republic, which has need of considerable armies, to maintain its independence, which is for ever liable to be invaded by those who have the sword in their hands, yet the best chance it has lies in keeping the military under the direction of the civil power. This method succeeded a good while with the French republic, and might have done still longer, if some of the members of the executive power had not leagued with some of the military commanders.

guard them, having confederated with Lambert and betrey'd them. After that, setting up their armie court at Wallingford-house, they begun their arbitrary reigne, to the ioy of all the vanquisht enemies of the parliament, and to the amazement and terror of all men that had any honest interest: and now were they all devizing governments; and some honorable members, I know not through what fatallity of the times, fell in with them.* When Coll. Hutchinson came into the country some time before Lambert's revolt, Mr.

* This was that committee of safety, or council of *Stratocracy*, among the principal members of which were Sir Henry Vane, Ludlow, and Whitelock, as mentioned by Whitelock, p. 685. He there says that he took his share in it reluctantly, and that all three were censured for it by the parliament at their return. Ludlow was accused of treason; Vane made an ingenious excuse, but was banished to one of his country seats. Col. Hutchinson evidently divided from Sir H. Vane on this occasion, and, as Ludlow says, urged on the censure against him, which he considers as inconsistent with Col. Hutchinson's judgment passed on the king, and as a proof of his treachery and underhand agreement with Monk. But no conclusion can be more unwarranted than this: it was Col. Hutchinson's anxiety to keep the king out, or at least to prevent his coming in with a high hand and without limitation, that caused him so strénuously to oppose these rash steps; which made all wish for the king's return, to deliver them from greater evils.

Robert Pierrepont, the sonne of the late Coll. Francis Pierrepont, sent friends to entreate the collonell to receive him into his protection. Upon the entreaty of his uncles he tooke him into his owne house, and entertain'd him civilly there, whilst he writt to the speaker, urging his youth, his surrender of himselfe, and all he could in favour of him, desiring to know how they would please to dispose of him. Before the letters were answer'd Lambert had broken the parliament, and the collonell told him he was free againe to doe what he pleas'd; but the young gentleman begg'd of the collonell that he might continue under his sanctuary till these things came to some issue. This the collonell very freely admitted, and entertain'd him till the second returne of the parliament, not without much trouble to his house, of him and his servants, so contrary to the sobriety and holinesse the collonell delighted in, yett for his father's and his uncle's sakes he endur'd it about six months.

Some of Lambert's officers, while he march'd neere Nottinghamshire, having formerly serv'd under the collonell's command, came to his house at Owthorpe and told him of the petition that was sett on foote in Lambert's brigade, and consulted whether they should signe it or no. The collonell advis'd them by no means

to doe it, yett notwithstanding they did, which made the collonell exceeding angrie with them, thinking they rather came to see how he stood affected, then really to ask his counsell. When Lambert had broken the house, the collonell made a short voyage to London to inform himselfe how things were, and found some of the members exceedingly sensible of the sad estate the kingdome was reduc'd unto by the rash ambition of these men, and resolving that there was no way but for every man that abhorr'd it to improve their interest in their countries, and to suppress these usurpers and rebels. Hereupon the collonell tooke order to have some armes bought and sent him, and had prepar'd a thousand honest men, whenever he should call for their assistance; intending to improve his posse comitatus when occasion should be offer'd. To provoke him more particularly to this, severall accidents fell out. Among the rest, six of Lambert's troopers came to gather mony, lay'd upon the country by an assessment of parliament, whom the collonell telling that in regard it was leavied by that authority, he had pay'd it, but otherwise would not; two of them, who only were in the roome with the collonell, the rest being on horseback in the court, gave him such insolent termes, with such unsufferable

proaches of the parliament, that the collonell drew a sword which was in the roome to have chastis'd them. While a minister that was by held the collonell's arme, his wife, not willing to have them kill'd in her presence, open'd the doore and let them out, who presently run and fetcht in their companions in the yard with cockt pistols. Upon the bustle, while the collonell having disengag'd himselfe from those that held him, was run after them with the sword drawne, his brother came out of another roome, upon whom, the souldiers pressing against a doore that went into the greate hall, the doore flew open, and about 50 or 60 men appeared in the hall,* who were there upon another businesse. For Owthorpe, Kinolton, and Hicklin, had a contest about a cripple that was sent from one to the other, but at last, out of some respect they had for the collonell, the chiefe men of the severall townes werē come to him, to make some accommodation, till the law should be againe in force. When the collonell heard the soulders were come, he left them shut up in his greate hall, who by accident thus appearing, putt the souldiers into a dreadfull fright.

* The description of the house contained in a former note will give a just idea of the position of all the parties, and of the striking scene here described.

When the collonell saw how pale they look'd, he encourag'd them to take heart, and calmly admonisht them of their insolence, and they being chang'd and very humble through their feare, he call'd for wine for them, and sent them away. To the most insolent of them he sayd, " These carriages would bring back the " the Stewarts." The man, laying his hand upon his sword, sayd, " Never, while he wore " that." Among other things, they sayd to the collonell, when he demanded by what authority they came, they shew'd their swords, and sayd, " That was their authority." After they were dismiss the collonell, not willing to appeare because he was sheriffe of the county, and had many of their papers sent him to publish, conceal'd himselfe in his house, and caus'd his wife to write a letter to Fleetewoode and complaine of the affronts had bene offer'd him, and to tell him that he was thereupon retir'd, till he could dwell safely at home.* To

* Probably this circumstance of Col. Hutchinson concealing himself in his own home came at that time to be known at Nottingham, and gave rise to a tradition which is to be found in Throsby's edition of Thoroton, that he concealed himself in this manner after the restoration, but was taken in his return from church; both of which were untrue, as probably were some other tales, resembling the legends of romance, which the Editor heard of him at Owthorpe. But that there was an apartment so adapted for concealment, security, and convenience,

this Fleetewood return'd a civill answer, and withall sent a protection, to forbiidd all souldiers from coming to his house, and a command to Swallow, who was the collonell of these men, to examine and punish them. Mrs. Hutchinson had sent before to Swallow, who then quarter'd at Leicester, the next day after it was done, to informe him, who sent a letter utterly disowning their actions, and promising to punish them. This Mrs. Hutchinson sent to shew the souldiers that lay then abusing the country at Colson; but when they saw their officer's letter they laught at him, and tore it in pieces. Some dayes after he, in a civil manner, sent a capitaine with them and other souldiers to Owthorpe, to enquire of their misdemeanors before their faces; which being confirm'd to him, and he beginning to rebuke them, they sett him at light, even before Mrs. Hutchinson's face, and made the poor man retire sneap'd to his collonell, while these six rogues, in one weeke's space, besides the assessments assign'd them to gather up, within the compasse of five miles, tooke away violently from the country, for their owne expence, above five-and-twenty pounds. Notwithstanding all

as that he might have made a long residence in it without being discovered, the Editor had ocular demonstration.

this pretended civility, Fleetewood and his councellers were afraid of the collonell, and the protection was but sent to draw him thither, that they might by that meanes get him into their custody. But he having intimation of it, withdrew, while men and arms were preparing, that he might appeare publickly in the defence of the country, when he was strong enough to drive out the souldiers that were left in these parts. Three hundred of them were one night drawne out of Nottingham to come to Owerthorpe for him, but some of the party gave him notice, who was then at home, and immediately went out of the house. Neither wanted they their spies, who gave them notice that he was gone againe, so that they turn'd of upon the wolds and went to Hickling, and the next day Maior Grove their commander sent to Mrs. Hutchinson to desire permission for himselfe only to come downe, which she gave, and so with only five or six of his party he came. With him Mrs. Hutchinson so easily dealt that, after she had represented the state of things to him, he began to apologize that he had only taken this command upon him to preserve the country, and should be ready to submit to any lawfull authority; and he and his men were not come for any other intent but to prevent disturbance of the peace and

gatherings together of men, who, they were inform'd, intended to rise in these parts. Mrs. Hutchinson smiling, told him it was necessary for him to keepe a good guard, for all the whole country would shortly be weary of their yoake, and, no question, find some authority to shelter them. Att last he came to that, as to desire her to let the collonell know he intended him no mischiefe, but he and all his men should be att her command to defend her from the insolencies of any others. She heard him without faith, for she knew the good will they pretended to her husband proceeded only from their feare. It is true that att that time the collonell had mett with Coll. Hacker, and severall other gentlemen of Northampton and Warwickshire, and at the same time Maior Beque was to have reduc'd Coventry, and another collonell Warwick-castle. Two regiments of horse should have marcht to a place within seven miles of Coll. Hutchinson's house, where his men should have rendezvouz'd, and the towne of Nottingham at the same time have seiz'd all the souldiers there, and they of Leicester the like. These people had, through the spies that were about the collonell, gotten

* Perhaps this crisis was the most favourable to the cause of liberty of any that had occurred; for the genuine assertors of it would, at this moment, have found all the

some little inclin of his rendezvous, but not right, neither could they have prevented it, had there bene need.* But iust before it should have bene putt in execution the parliament were restor'd to their seates, Lambert was deserted by his men and fled, and Monke was marching on southwards, pretending to restore and confirme the parliament; insomuch that Coll. Hutchinson, instead of raysing his country, was call'd up to his seate in parliament. Here there were so many favours of Lambert, Fleetewood, and their partakers, that the collonell, who used to be very silent, could not now forbear high opposition of them; in whose favour things were carried with such a streame, that the collonell then began to lose all hopes of settling this poore land on any righteous foundation.

different factions weakened, and the body of the nation so tired of tumult and anarchy, that, had they now stood forth in any force, the voice of reason would in all probability have prevailed. But the fluctuations of power and party were at this time so frequent and sudden as hardly to leave sufficient interval for any enterprize that requir'd combination. Moreover it is to be considered that the march of patriotism is impeded by reserves and restraints which ambition overleaps in its career; and after all it is perhaps justly observed that Col. Hutchinson was *too unambitious* for his own glory or the public good.

It was the 26th of December 1659 that the parliament mett againe. The manner of it, and the contest and treaty in the north betweene Monke and Lambert, are too well known to be repeated ; the dissimulations and false protestations that Monke made are too publick : yett did the collonell and others suspect him, but knew not how to hinder him ; for this insolent usurpation of Lambert's had so turn'd the hearts of all men, that the whole nation began to sett their eies upon the king beyond the sea, and thinke a bad settlement under him better then none at all, but still to be under the arbitrary power of such proud rebels as Lambert. The whole house was divided into miserable factions, among whom some would then violently have sett up an oath of renuntiation of the king and his famely. The collonell, thinking it a ridiculous thing to *sweare out* a man, when they had no power to defend themselves against him, vehemently oppos'd that oath, and carried it against Sr. Ar. Hesperig and others, who as violently press'd it; urging very truly that those oaths that had bene formerly impos'd had but multiplied the sins of the nation by periuries; instancing how Sr. Ar. and others, in Oliver's time, comming into the house, swore at their entrance they would attempt nothing in the change of that

government, which, assoone as ever they were enter'd, they labour'd to throw downe. Many other arguments he us'd, whereupon many honest men, who thought till then he had follow'd a faction in all things, and not his owne iudgement, begun to meete often with him, and to consult what to doe in these difficulties, out of which their prudence and honesty had found a way to extricate themselves, but that the period of our prosperity was come ; hasten'd on partly by the mad rash violence of some that, without strength, oppos'd the tide of the discontented tumultuous people, partly by the detestable treachery of those who had sold themselves to doe mischief ; but chiefly by the generall streame of the people, who were as eager for their owne destruction as the Israelites of old for their quailles.*

* A frank acknowledgment that the independent parliament, however good the intentions of many of them might be, had become unpopular: but with the general mass of mankind the escape from any present evil is paramount to all future considerations. Perhaps this reflux of the *public mind* was the most effectual cause of the counter revolution, without which Monk might have *plotted* in vain. — And thus perhaps in this, as in so many other instances, Mrs. Hutchinson's natural and rational way of tracing and unfolding the causes of great events will be found to bring us much nearer the truth than all the subtleties employed by others !

One observation of the collonell I cannot omitt, that the secluded members whom Monke brought in were, many of them, so brought over to a commonwealth that, if Sr. Ar. Helesrigg and his party had not forsaken their places because they would not sitt with them, they had made the stronger party in the house, which by reason of their going off were after in all things outvoted. *

* We do not know this circumstance to have been noticed by any other historian; but it appears much more probable than that the secluded members should have been *unanimous*, and that in measures of such transcendent import as were now to be decided upon. For this secession Whitelock blames and Ludlow commends Sir Arthur Haselrigge and his friends: their total ruin, which ensued, decides the question.

In support of the opinions and statements contained in this and the two next following pages, are adduced the following out of many extracts that might be made from the third volume of Clarendon's State Papers. Page 687, Broderick to Hyde, Dec. 30, 1659, ridicules the idea of its being possible to establish the Rump;—says Vane, Salway, and Whitelock sit without blush or excuse;—Haslerig must ruin them or be ruined.—A. A. Cooper desires to establish these people.—Haslerig would admit the secluded members provided they would renounce a single person and the line of the Stuarts.

Page 696, Do. to Do. March 9, 1659-60, "Of Monk
"I have much more reason to hope better than you apprehend, and would lose the hand with which I pay
"you this duty, that Mr. Edmonson (the king) had in-
"closed an answer to Howard by this conveyance, time

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper at that time insinuated himself into a particular friendship with the collonell, and made him all the

“ being very precious, and what a day may produce known
 “ only to the prescience of Almighty God. All the pro-
 “ gress that can be made without it is carefully pursued,
 “ nor shall any thing be wanting any care can supply.
 “ The last night’s conference between the officers of the
 “ army and members is so variously reported, even by
 “ themselves, (with several of whom I have this morning
 “ discoursed) that it is hard to give a narrative of parti-
 “ culars: the main they agree in, viz. that the demands
 “ were, indemnity for all past actions, confirmation of all
 “ purchases, sale of what remains to the state in the
 “ king’s houses, forests, &c. towards the payment of ar-
 “ rears; with some sharp reflections on the militia of se-
 “ veral counties put into disaffected hands.

“ Sir Wm. Lewis,” (one of the secluded members, as
 appears by Dugdale’s list, and who evidently had joined
 Col. Hutchinson’s party since his return) “ Arthur Annesley,
 “ Col. Hutchinson, endeavoured their satisfaction by re-
 “ peating the acts already past in their favour, justifying
 “ many persons so chosen, promises of arrears, with what-
 “ ever else they thought reasonable to urge against the
 “ intrusion of military stipendiaries upon the privilege of
 “ parliament. Haslerig and some of his faction abetted
 “ the soldiery, but all ended fairly, though far from sa-
 “ tisfaction. The general indeed before declared that he
 “ expected their obedience to the supreme authority, not
 “ their usurpation of it; adding that it would be easier to
 “ find officers in the room of those that remained obsti-
 “ nate, than for them to find regiments if the house should
 “ deny pay. Upon the whole I am commanded to tell

honorable pretences that can be imagin'd; call'd him his *deare friend*, and caress'd him with such embraces as none but a traytor as vile as himselfe could have suspected; yett was he the most intimate of Monke's confidants; whereupon some few dayes before the rising of that house, when it began to be too apparent which way Monke enclin'd, the collonell, upon the confidence of his friendship, entreated him to tell him what were Monke's intentions, that he and others might consider their safety, who were likely to be given up as a publick sacrifice. Cooper denied to the death any intention besides a com-

"you that we suffered nothing in the conference. Hasle-
 "rig concluded there was no other basis to build on than
 "the parliament. Col. Rich, Scott, and the rest who hi-
 "therto refrained, now enter the house with faint hopes
 "of opposing the general current. We make no doubt
 "of success every where. All people cry out, the king!
 "the king! some indeed add he must come in on terms;
 "and why doth he not prevent the imposition by a fair
 "offer published authentically, to release fears, settle
 "their minds, and render his entrance facile."

The same to the king, March 10, 59-60, says, "Monk
 "declared he would acquiesce in the judgment of the
 "parliament both as to king and lords. Another day he
 "would spend the last drop of his blood rather than the
 "Stuarts should ever come into England; but he is in
 "good temper again the same night."

monwealth; "but," sayd he, with the greatest semblance of reallity that can be putt on, "if the violence of the people should bring the king upon us, let me be damn'd, body and soule, if ever I see a haire of any man's head toucht, or a pennie of any man's estate upon this quarrell." This he backt with so many and so deep protestations of that kinde, as made the collonell, after his treachery was apparent, detest him of all mankind, and thinke himsele oblieged, if ever he had opportunity, to procure exemplary iustice on him, who was so vile a wretch as himself to sitt and sentence some of those that died. And although this man ioyn'd with those who labour'd the collonell's particular deliverance, yett the collonell, to his dying day, abhorr'd the mention of his name, and held him for a more execrable traytor than Monke himselfe. Att this time the collonell, as before, was by many of his friends attempted every way to fall in with the king's interest, and often offer'd both pardon and preferment, if he could be wrought off from his party, whose danger was now lay'd before him: but they could no way moove him.* A

* It was hard upon him, after this, to be accused by Ludlow of treachery and connivance with the king's friends; but Ludlow was at this time engaged in a differ-

gentleman that had bene employ'd to tamper with him told me, that he found him so unmooveable, that one time he and a certeine lord being in the collonell's company, and having begun their vaine insinuations, he, to decline them, seeing Cooper, went away with him; upon which this lord, that had some tendernesse for the collonell: "Well," sayd he, to this gentleman, "the collonell is a ruïn'd man, he believes that traytor, which will ruine him." When they could not worke into him one way, some, that were most kindly concern'd in him, perswaded him to absent himselfe and not act for the parliament, and undertooke with their lives to secure him, but he would not. He foresaw the mischiefe, and resolv'd to stay in his duty, waiting upon God, who accordingly was good to him. Some, when they saw Monke had

ent party, perhaps envious of him for escaping with impunity, when himself despaired of doing so, and went into voluntary exile; and besides Sir A. Ashley Cooper may have stipulated for Col. Hutchinson's indemnity *gratuitously*; while most people suppose that some conditions were imposed. His moderation in a time of phrenzy was surely a sufficient argument, and was probably that which Cooper used in support of the man whom he was forced to esteem, though he did not choose to imitate him.

betrey'd them, would have fallen in with Lambert, but the collonell thought any destruction was to be chosen before the sin of ioyning with such a wretch. *

Now was that glorious parliament come to a period, not more fatall to itselfe then to the three nations, whose sunne of liberty then sett, and all their glorie gave place to the

* This was the point whereupon the heads of the republican party divided, but probably at this day the warmest friends of the liberties of the people will think that it was better to return to a monarchy, though not sufficiently limited and defined, than to fall under a stratocracy, or government of the army, which this would have been more completely than even that which existed under Cromwell: indeed it is not easy to see which way it would have differed from that of Algiers. Accordingly we do not find Mrs. Hutchinson ever to have repined that the king had been restored in preference to the establishing of such a power; but there were many other modes which might have been adopted, without flying to either of these extremes, had not their passions overpowered the reason of some of the great men of that day. In page 705 of the third volume of Clarendon's State Papers, a spy of Charles II. says the Lords Bedford and Manchester, Mr. Pierrepont, Popham, Waller, and St. John, made a junte to treat with the king before his restitution. But the most obvious method for obtaining a better settlement was that proposed by Whitelock to Fleetwood, of an offer of their services to the king upon reasonable conditions: this opportunity was lost by hesitation, and an easy triumph left to Monk, whose determined conduct gave efficacy to the small force he possessed.

lowest mists that ever overspread a miserable people.* A new parliament was to be chosen, and the county of Nottingham yett had such respect for Coll. Hutchinson, that they fixt their eies on him to be their knight, but Mr. William Pierrepont having a greater desire to bring in his sonne-in-law, the Lord Haughton,

* If the change in politics was great, the change in morals was much greater : statutes have since retrieved the errors committed in the former ; it is doubtful whether the national character in taste and morals has ever freed itself from the taint it then received.

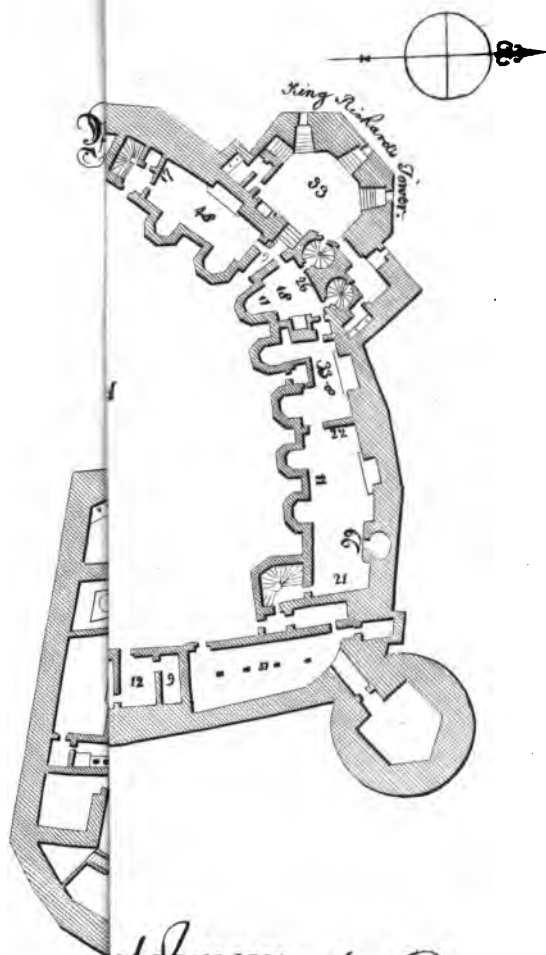
Under the patronage and example of the king, wit put decency to flight ; religion and patriotism, veneration of God and the love of our country, the two noblest affections of the mind, were dragged through the mire of doggerel rhimes, under the pretence of deriding hypocrisy ; under the notion of gaiety and goodfellowship, profligacy and sensuality gained a footing which they have never quitted, but still maintain their ground, by the dangerous secret then taught them of reducing all by invidious surmises and unjust depreciations nearly to the level of their own baseness.

The plays and other writings of those days are tinged with an air of rakishness which often appears affected and misplaced ; it was the polite ridicule of the Spectators which put this folly out of countenance and practice. Some modern wits have attempted to revive it, and but for the general turn to philosophical inquiry they would probably succeed. Those who *reason* cannot but see that shameless depravity is a very bad substitute for even simulated virtue.

to be his fellow knight, the collonell would not come into the towne 'till the election was past ; which if he had, he had bene chosen without desiring it, for many people came, and when they saw he would not stand, returned and voted for none, among whom were fifty freeholders of the towne of Newark.

Sometime before the writts for the new elections came, the towne of Nottingham, as almost all the rest of the island, began to grow mad, and declare themselves so, in their desires of the king. The boys, sett on by their fathers and masters, gott drummes and colours, and marcht up and downe the towne, and train'd themselves in a millitary posture, and offer'd many affronts to the souldiers of the armie, that were quarter'd there, which were two troopes of Coll. Hacker's regiment. Insomuch that one night there were about forty of the souldiers hurt and wounded with stones, upon the occasion of taking away the drummes, when the youths were gathering together to make bonfires to burn the * rump,

* The number of the members of the long parliament having been by seclusion, death, &c. very much reduced, the remainder was compared to the rump of a fowl which was left, all the rest being eaten ; and this coarse emblem was burnt in derision by the mob, to hail and flatter the rising power of the cavaliers.



autograph

as the custome of those mad dayes was. The souldiers provok'd to rage, shott againe, and kill'd in the scuffle two presbiterians, whereof one was an elder, and an old professor; and one that had bene a greate zealott for the cause, and master of the magazine of Nottingham castle. He was only standing at his owne doore, and whether by chance, or on purpose shott, or by whom, it is not certeine; but true it is, that at that time, the presbiterians were more inveterately bitter against the fanatiques than even the cavaliers themselves, and they sett on these boyes. But upon the killing of this man they were hugely enrag'd, and pray'd very seditiously in their pulpits, and began openly to desire the king; not for good will neither to him, but for destruction to all the fanatiques. One of the ministers who were greate leaders of the people, had bene engag'd firmly in Booth's rebellion, and very many of the godly led in, who, by the timely suppression of those who began the insurrection in Nottingham, were prevented from declaring themselves openly. Coll. Hutchinson was as mercifull as he could safely be, in not setting on too strict inquisition; but privately admonishing such as were not past hopes of becoming good commonwealth's men, if it were possible that the labouring state

might outlive the present storme. Upon this bustle in the towne of Nottingham, the souldiers were horribly incens'd, and the townsmen ready to take part with the boyes ; whereupon the souldiers drew into the meadowes neare the towne, and sent for the regiment, resolving to execute their vengeance on the towne, and the townsmen againe were mustering to encounter them. Mrs. Hutchinson by chance comming to the towne, and being acquainted with the captains, perswaded them to doe nothing in a tumultuary way, however provok'd, but to complaine to the generall, and let him decide the businesse.

The men, att her entreaty, were content so to doe, the townsmen also concenting to re-streine their children and servants, and keepe the publick peace ; while it was agreed that both of them should send up together a true information to the generall, concerning the late quarrell. But one of the officers, more enrag'd then the rest, went immediately away to Monke, and complain'd to him of the mallice of the presbiterian and cavalier, against the souldiers. He without asking more on the other side, sign'd a warrant to Coll. Hacker, to kett loose the fury of his regiment upon the towne, and plunder all they iudg'd guilty ; with which the officer immediately went away.

Coll. Hutchinson being at that time at the generall's lodging, my lord Howard told him what order against the towne of Nottingham had iust bene sent downe. The collonell, who had bene by his wife inform'd of the disorders there, went to the generall, and prevail'd with him for a countermand of all hostility against the towne, till he should heare and determine the businesse: which countermand the collonell sent immediately by one of the townsmen, who, though he ridd post, came not till Coll. Hacker, with all his regiment, were come into the towne before him, and the souldiers were in some of the houses beginning to rifle them. Wherefore the countermand comming so seasonably from Coll. Hutchinson, they could not but look upon him as their deliverer; and this being done very few days before the election for the next parliament, when the collonell came to towne and had waved the county, they generally pitch'd upon him for the towne. But then Dr. Plumtre labour'd all he could to get the burgess-ship for himselfe, and to put by the collonell, with the basest scandalls he and two or three of his associates could rayse. Mr. Arthur Stanhope, in whose house the souldiers were enter'd to plunder, being pitcht upon for the other burgesse, and having a greate party in the towne, was dealt with to

desert the collonell, and offer'd all Plumtre's party; but on the other side, he labour'd more for the collonell then for himselfe, and at length, when the election day came, Mr. Stanhope and the collonell were clearly chosen.*

The collonell and Mr. Stanhope went up to the parliament, which began on the 25th day of Aprill, 1660; to whom the king sending a declaration from Breda, which promis'd, or at least intimated, liberty of conscience, remission of all offences, enioyment of liberties and estates; they voted to send commissioners to invite him †. And allmost all the

* Both Whitelock and Ludlow assure us, that there were great solicitations in all parts to get to be parliament men; and Rapin says, that almost all the elections were in favour of the presbyterians and royalists, peculiarly the former. This circumstance renders Col. Hutchinson's popularity and personal merit so much the more conspicuous.

† That the parliament, and this, as Rapin calls it, a *presbyterian* parliament, should thus simply and unconditionally have invited the king, has always been matter of astonishment; the first to find out the error into which their precipitancy had led them, were the royalists, and of them the *best*, the Earl of Southampton, who by Burnet, p. 89. is said to have laid the chief blame on Chancellor Hyde. But was it not equally in the power of the parliament, *after* the king's arrival, to have imposed any reasonable conditions, at least before they established for him such an income as to render him independent?

gentry of all parties went, some to fetch him over, some to meete him att the sea-side, some to fetch him into London, into which he enter'd on the 29th day of May, with an universall ioy and triumph, even to his owne amazement; who, when he saw all the nobility and gentry of the land flowing in to him, askt where were his enemies? For he saw nothing but prostrates, expressing all the love that could make a prince happie. Indeed it was a wonder in that day to see the mutability of some, and the hipocrisie of others, and the servile flattery of all. Monke, like his better genius, conducted him, and was ador'd like one that had brought all the glory and felicity of mankind home with this prince.

The officers of the armie had made themselves as fine as the courtiers, and every one hoped in this change to change their condition, and disown'd all things they before had advis'd. Every ballad singer sung up and downe the streetes ribald rymes, made in reproach of the late commonwealth, and all those worthies that therein endeavour'd the people's freedome and happinesse.

The * presbiterians were now the white

* It has been pretty generally reported and believed of the king, that he was more inclined to confirm and augment than disturb or diminish the extent of the amnesty he

boyes, and according to their nature fell a thirsting, then hunting after blood, urging that God's blessing could not be upon the land, till iustice had cleans'd it from the late king's blood. First that fact was disown'd, then all the acts made after it render'd void, then an inquisition made after those that were guilty thereof, but only seven nominated of them that sate in iudgment on that prince, for exemplary iustice, and a proclamation sent for the rest to come in, upon penalty of loos-
ing their estates.

While these things were debating in the house, at the first, divers persons, concern'd in that businesse, sate there, and when the businesse came into question, every one of them spoke to it, according to their present sence. But Mr. Lenthall, sonne to the late speaker of that parliament, when the presbi-

had proffered at Breda: and there are upon record very honourable instances of many of the royalists exhibiting a spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation: perhaps the most rational way of accounting for the chief of the presbyterian party shewing rigour, is to suppose that they did it in order to remove from themselves the odium of those violences of which they had been the original and remote cause, and cast it on those who were the immediate and proximate one. Be the cause or reasoning what it may, the fact is well established by the trials of the regicides.

terians first call'd that businesse into question, though not at all concern'd in it himselfe, stood up and made so handsome and honorable a speech in defence of them all, as deserves eternal honor. But the presbiterians call'd him to the barre for it, where, though he mitigated some expressions, which might be ill taken of the house, yet he spoke so generously, as it is never to be forgotten of him. Herein he behav'd himselfe with so much courage and honor as was not matcht at that time in England, for which he was look'd on with an evil eie, and, upon a pretence of treason, put in prison; from whence his father's mony, and the lieutenant of the tower's iealousie deliver'd him. When it came to Inglesbies turne, he, with many teares, profest his repentance for that murther, and told a false tale, how Cromwell held his hand, and forc'd him to subscribe the sentence, and made a most whining recantation, after which he retir'd, and another had almost ended, when Coll. Hutchinson, who was not there at the beginning, came in, and was told what they were about, and that it would be expected he should say something. He was surpriz'd with a thing he expected not, yet neither then, nor in any the like occasion, did he ever faile himself, but told them, " That for his actings

“ in those dayes, if he had err’d, it was the
 “ inexperience of his age, and the defect of his
 “ iudgment, and not the mallice of his heart,
 “ which had ever prompted him to persue the
 “ generall advantage of his country more then
 “ his owne ; and if the sacrifice of him might
 “ conduce to the publick peace and settle-
 “ ment, he should freely submit his life and
 “ fortunes to their dispose : that the vain ex-
 “ pence of his age, and the greate debts his
 “ publick employments had runne him into,
 “ as they were testimonies that neither ava-
 “ rice nor any other interest had carried him
 “ on, so they yielded him iust cause to repent
 “ that he ever forsooke his owne blessed
 “ quiett, to embarque in such a troubled sea,
 “ where he had made shipwrack of all things
 “ but a good conscience ; and as to that par-
 “ ticular action of the king, he desir’d them
 “ to believe he had that sense of it, that be-
 “ fitted an Englishman, a Christian, and a gen-
 “ tleman.” * What he express’d was to this

* This speech will probably be considered as a speci-
 men of art carried as far as a man of honour would per-
 mit himself to go, and managed with as much refinement
 and dexterity as the longest premeditation could have pro-
 duced ; accordingly it furnished his friends with a topic
 for his defence, without giving his adversaries ground for
 reproaching him with tergiversation.

effect, but so very handsomely delivered, that it generally tooke the whole house: only one gentleman stood up and say'd, he had express'd himselfe as one that was much more sorrie for the events and consequences, then the actions: but another replied, that when a man's words might admitt of two interpretations, it befitted gentlemen allwayes to receive that which might be most favourable. Assoone as the collonell had spoken, he retir'd into a roome, where Inglesbie was, with his eies yett red, who had call'd up a little spite to succeed his whinings, and embracing Coll. Hutchinson, "O collonell," say'd he, "did I ever
 " imagine we could be brought to this? Could
 " I have suspected it, when I brought them
 " Lambert in the other day, this sword should
 " have redeem'd us from being dealt with as
 " criminalls, by that people, for whom we
 " had so gloriously exposed ourselves." The collonell told him, he had foreseene, ever since those usurpers thrust out the lawful authority of the land, to enthrone themselves, it could end in nothing else; but the integrity of his heart, in all he had done, made him as chearefully ready to suffer as to triumph in a good cause. The result of the house that day was to suspend Coll. Hutchinson and the rest from sitting in the house. Monke, after all his

greate professions, now sate still, and had not one word to interpose for any person, but was as forward to sett vengeance on foot as any man.

Mrs. Hutchinson, whom to keepe quiett her husband had hitherto perswaded that no man would lose or suffer by this change, att this beginning was awakened, and saw that he was ambitious of being a publick sacrifice, and therefore, herein only in her whole life, resolv'd to disobey him, and to emprove all the affection he had to her for his safety, and prevail'd with him to retire ; for she say'd, she would not live to see him a prisoner. With her unquietnesse, she drove him out of her owne lodgings into the custody of a friend, in order to his further retreate, if occasion should be, and then made it her businesse to sollicite all her friends for his safety. Meanwhile in the house, it was first resolv'd, that mercy should be shewn to some, and exemplary iustice to others ; then the number was defin'd, and voted it should not exceed seven ; then upon the king's owne sollicitation, that his subiects should be putt out of their feares, those seven named ; and after that a proclamation sent for the rest to come in. Coll. Hutchinson not being of the number of those seven, was advis'd by all his friends to surren-

der himselfe, in order to securing his estate, and he was very earnest to doe it, when Mrs. Hutchinson would by no means heare of it : but being exceedingly urg'd by his friends, that she would hereby obstinately loose all their estate, she would not yett consent the collonell should give himselfe into custody, and she had wrought him to a strong engagement, that he would not dispose of himselfe without her. Att length being accus'd of obstinacy, in not giving him up, she devis'd a way to trie the house, and writt a letter in his name to the speaker, to urge what might be in his favour, and to lett him know, that by reason of some inconveniency it might be to him, he desir'd not to come under custody, and yett should be ready to appeare att their call, and if they intended any mercy to him, he begg'd they would beginne it in permitting him his liberty upon his parolle, till they should finally determine of him. This letter she conceiv'd would trie the temper of the house ; if they granted this, she had her end, for he was still free ; if they denied it, she might be satisfied in keeping him from surrendering himselfe.

Having contriv'd and written this letter, before she carried it to the collonell, a friend came to her out of the house, neere which her lodgings then were, and told her that if they

had but any ground to begin, the house was that day in a most excellent temper towards her husband ; whereupon she writt her husband's name to the letter, and ventur'd to send it in, being us'd sometimes to write the letters he dictated, and her character not much differing from his. These gentlemen who were moov'd to trie this opertunity, were not of the friends she relied on ; but God, to shew that it was he, not they, sent two common friends, who had so good successe that the letter was very well receiv'd ; and upon that occasion all of all parties spoke so kindly and effectually for him, that he had not only what he desir'd, but was voted to be free without any engagement, and his punishment only to be discharg'd from the present parliament, and from all office, millitary or civill, in the state for ever ; and upon his petition of thanks for this, his estate alsoe was voted to be free from all mulcts and confiscations. Many providentiall circumstances concurr'd in this thing. That which put the house into so good a humour towards the collonell that day, was, that having taken the businesse of the king's triall into consideration, certeine committees were found to be appoynted, to order the preparation of the court, the chaires and cushions, and other formalities, wherein Coll. Hutchinson had nothing

to doe*; but when they had past their votes for his absolute discharge and came to the sitting of the court, he was found not to have bene one day away. A rogue that had bene one of their clearkes had brought in all these informations; and above all, poore Mrs. Hacker, thinking to save her husband, had brought up the warrant for execution, with all their hands and seales.†

Sr. Allen Apsley too, who, with all the kindest zeale of friendship that can be imagin'd, endeavour'd to bring of the collonell, us'd some artifice in engaging friends for him. There was a young gentleman, a kinsman of

* In Nalson's Trial of Charles I. it appears, that on Friday, Jan. 12, when a committee was appointed for ordering the trial, and many minute particulars agreed to for the management of it, Col. Hutchinson was absent, but attended most other days. On Jan. 25. however, when the sentence was suggested, he was absent, but was present at the signing, and himself signed the warrant for execution.

† To those who have not read or not remembered the trials of the regicides, it may be useful to remark, that Col. Hacker was tried for superintending the execution of the king in his millitary capacity, for which it seems this warrant was expected to prove a sufficient justification: and perhaps it ought to have been so considered: but it is extraordinary that his wife, before she gave up an instrument which seemed so precious to those who were seeking revenge, had not stipulated for her husband's pardon.

his, who thirstily aspir'd after preferment, and Sr. Allen had given him hopes, upon his effectually endeavours for the collonell, to introduce him, who being a person that had understanding enough, made no conscience of truth, when an officious lie might serve his turne. This man, although he ow'd his life to the collonell, and had a thousand obligations to Mrs. Hutchinson's parents, yet not for their sakes, nor for virtue, nor for gratitude, but for his owne hopes, which he had of Sr. Allen Apsley, told some of the leading men among the court party, that it was the king's desire to have favour shewne to the collonell; whereupon Mr. Palmer, since Castlemaine, was the first man that spoke for the collonell, whom Finch most eloquently seconded. Then Sr. George Booth and his party all appear'd for the collonell, in gratitude for his civillity to them. For when the parliament had past by the rebellion of Lambert and Fleetewood, and those who ioyn'd with them, and would not make their offences capitall, he had told the house, they could not without greate partiality punish these, and had moov'd much in their favour. Mr. Pierrepont, and all the old sage parliament men, out of very heartie kindnesse, spoke and labour'd very effectually to bring him cleare of; and there was not at that day any man that

receiv'd a more generall testimony of love and good esteeme of all parties then he did, not one of the most violent hunters of blood opposing favour, and divers most worthy persons giving a true and honourable testimony of him. Although they knew his principles contrary to theirs, yet they so iustified his cleare and upright carriage, according to his owne perswasion, as was a record much advancing his honour, and such as no man else in that day receiv'd.*

Yett though he very well deserv'd it, I cannot so much attribute that universall concurrence that was in the whole house to expresse esteeme of him and desire to save him, to their iustice and gratitude, as to an overruling power of him that orders all men's hearts, who was then pleas'd to reserve his servant, even by the good and true testimony of some that afterwards hated him and sought his ruine, for the perseverance in that goodnesse, which then forc'd them to be his advocates ; for even the worst and basest men have a secrett conviction of worth and virtue, which they never dare to persecute in its owne name. The col-

* Mr. Lassels (probably Lascelles) enjoyed exactly a similar exemption, the peculiar reasons for it are not accurately known, but it is natural to suppose they were similar.

lonell being thus discharged the house, retir'd to a remoter lodging from Westminster, and lay very private in the towne, not comming into any companie of one sort or other, waiting till the act of oblivion were perfected, to goe downe againe into the countrie ; but when the act came to be past in the house, then the Lord Lexington sett divers friends on worke in the common's house to get a proviso inserted, that the Newarker's mony, which he pay'd into the committee of Haberdasher's Hall, and was by that committee pay'd to the collonell for his pay, might, with all the use of it, be pay'd out of the collonell's estate. He forg'd many false pretences to obteine this ; but it was reiected in the common's house, and the bill going up to the lords, was past without any proviso's. Only the gentlemen that were the late king's iudges, and decoy'd to surrender themselves to custody by the House's proclamation, after that they had voted only seven to suffer, were now given up to a triall, both for their lives and estates, and put in to close prison, where they were miserably kept, brought shortly after to triall, condemn'd, all their estates confiscated and taken away, themselves kept in miserable bondage under that inhumane bloody iaylor the lieutenant of the Tower, who stifled some of them

to death for want of ayre ; and when they had not one pennie, but what was given them to feed themselves and their families, exacted abominable rates for bare unfurnish't prisons ; of some forty pounds for one miserable chamber, of others double, besides undue and uniuſt fees, which their poore wives were forc'd to beg and engage their iointures and make miserable shifts for : and yet this rogue had all this while three pounds a weeke pay'd out of the chequer for every one of them. At last when this would not kill them fast enough, and when some almes were thus privately stollen in to them, they were sent away to remote and dismall islands, where reliefe could not reach them, nor any of their relations take care of them ; in this a thousand times more miserable than those that died, who were thereby prevented from the eternall infamie and remorse, which hope of life and estate made these poore men bring upon themselves, by base and false recantations of their owne iudgment, against their consciences ; which they wounded for no advantage, but liv'd ever after in misery themselves, augmented by seeing the misery of their wretched families, and in the daily apprehension of death, which, without any more formallity, they are to expect whenever the tyrant gives

the word. And these are the "*tender MERCIES of the wicked!*"* Among which I cannot forgett one passage that I saw. Monke and his wife, before they were moov'd to the Tower, while they were yett prisoners at Lambeth House, came one evening to the garden and caused them to be brought downe, only to stare at them. Which was such a bar-

* Almost all who have written any account of the transactions of those days shew a desire to gratify the faction which then prevailed, and have endeavoured to establish a notion that great lenity was shewn to all the regicides who were not of the seven excepted : what it was we here learn.

The English nation have long dwelt on the hackneyed theme of French oppression, lettres de catchet, bastilles, &c. and have affected an ignorance of what has passed here, in full sight of a British parliament. Those who have viewed the matter near at hand know very well that *these* superlative powers were not at all more dangerous, nor so much abused in France as here, nor the treatment near so rigorous. The prisons of state were there always under the command of noblemen and military officers, who were little likely to practise the jailor's arts. The more any office is despised, the more vile hands will it fall into, and the more atrociously will it be executed; this reasoning sufficiently establishes the necessity of watching with a jealous eye the conduct of these ministers of justice, if such they should be called, in a country like this. A more desolating picture of misery long drawn out can hardly be imagined. We shall again have to notice the conduct of this lieutenant of the Tower.

barisme, for that man, who had betrey'd so many poore men to death and misery that never hurt him, but had honor'd him, and trusted their lives and interest with him, to glutt his bloody eies with beholding them in their bondage, as no story can parallel the inhumanity of.

Coll. Scroope, who had bene clear'd by vote as the collonel was, was afterwards raced out for nothing, and had the honour to die a noble martyr.

Although the collonell was clear'd both for life and estate in the house of commons, yet he not answering the court expectations in publick recantations and dissembled repentance, and applause of their cruelty to his fellows, the chancellor was cruelly exasperated against him, and there were very high endeavours to have rac'd him out of the act of oblivion. But then Sr. Allen Apsley solicited all his friends, as it had bene for his owne life, and divers honorable persons drew up a certificate, with all the advantage they could, to procure him favour; who in all things that were not against the interest of the state had ever pitied and protected them in their distresses.* The Countesse of Rochester writ a

* The Countess of Rochester was the wife of Wilmot, general of the horse for the king, who upon dis-

very effectuall letter to the Earl of Manchester, making her request that the favour to him might be confirm'd as an obligation to her, to quitt some that she, and as she suppos'd, her lord had receiv'd from him. This letter was read in the house, and Sr. Allen Apsley's candidate for preferment againe made no conscience of deceiving several lords, that the preserving of the collonell would be acceptable to the king and the chancellor, who he now knew hated his life. Many lords alsoe of the collonell's relations and acquaintance out of kindnesse and gratitude, (for there was not one of them whom he had not in his day more or lesse oblig'd), us'd very hearty endeavours for him. Yett Sr. Allen Apsley's interest and most fervent endeavours for him, was that which only turn'd the scales, and the collonell was not excepted in the act of oblivion to anie thing but offices.

gust quitted his service, and receiving a passport, went abroad; his wife expressed *loyalty* to, and received much favour from the parliament, as Whitelock informs us; very likely by the procurement of Col. Hutchinson. The passage before us (and many other such like) may serve as a useful memento to those who are engaged in civil broils, to maintain all they can of private kindness, consistently with what they think their public duty. For the honour of human nature let due notice be taken of the steady friendship of Sir Allen Apsley.

The provisoes to the act of oblivion were all cut of, and it was determin'd that those things should passe in particular acts; when the Lord Lexington gott one for that Newark mony to be repay'd out of the collonell's estate, with all the interest for 14 yeares. This act was committed, and the collonell had counsell to plead against it, and the Marquesse Dorchester* having the chayre, was wonderfull civill to the collonell. The adverse counsell having bene men that practis'd under the parliament, thought they could no way ingratiate themselves so well as by making invectives against those they formerly claw'd with, and when quite besides their matter, they fell into raylings against the iniustice of the former times and scandalls of the collonell, the marquesse

* The same whom, when Viscount Newark, Col. Hutchinson rescued from the violence of the countrymen at Nottingham; to whom afterwards the colonel made, at the request of her friends, the offer of the hand and fortune of Lady Anne Somerset, and who so handsomely now evinces his candour and gratitude. His character is well contrasted with that of Lord Lexington, who in the first place obtained a peerage for the sacrifice of this very money; next refused payment of it to the Newarkers, of whom he had borrowed it; then, upon being compelled to pay it, procured easy terms by the colonel's interference; and now attempts to plunder his benefactor of the whole!

check'd them severely, and bade them mind their cause: but Mr. Finch, one of the collonell's counsell, after a lawyer had made a long rayling speech, which held them a tedious while, he replying; "My lord," sayd he, "this gentleman hath taken up a greate deale of time to tell your lordship how uniust that parliament was, how their committees perverted iudgment and right, which he setteth forth with all his power of language to make them odious, and in conclusion would persuade your lordship therefore to doe the same things." After the hearing at the committee, a report was made so favourable for the collonell that the bill was cast aside, and the house being then ready to adiourne, most of the collonell's friends went out of towne, which opertunity Lexington taking notice of, the very last day in a huddle gott the bill past the lord's house.*

Then the collonell went down into the country, and found it necessary to reduce and change his famely, which were many of them people he tooke in for charity, when they could no where elce be receiv'd, and they had bene more humble and dutifull while they were

* The practice of parliament at that time must have differed from what it now is, for such a bill to originate in the house of lords: we shall presently see it miscarry in the commons.

under hatches, but now might find better preferments, and were not to be confided in; yett he dismiss not any of them without bountifull rewards, and such kind dismissions as none but that false generation would not have bene oblied by. But some of them soone after betrey'd him as much as was in their power, whose prudence had so liv'd with them, that they knew nothing that could hurt his person.

When the collonell saw how the other poore gentlemen were trapan'd that were brought in by proclamation, and how the whole cause it-selfe, from the beginning to the ending, was betrey'd and condemn'd, notwithstanding that he himselfe, by a wonderfull overruling providence of God, in that day was preserved; yett he look'd upon himselfe as iudg'd in their iudgement, and executed in their execution*; and although he was most thankfull to God, yett he was not very well satisfied in himselfe for accepting the deliverance. His wife, who thought she had never deserv'd so well of him, as in the endeavours and labours she exercis'd to bring him of, never displeas'd him more in her life, and had much adoe to perswade him

* A sentiment most conformable to nature—but to a most just and amiable nature!

to be contented with his deliverance ; which, as it was eminently wrought by God, he acknowledg'd it with thankfullnesse ; but while he saw others suffer, he suffer'd with them in his mind, and, had not his wife perswaded him, had offer'd himselfe a voluntary sacrifice, but being by her convinc'd that God's eminent appearance, seem'd to have singled him out for preservation, he with thanks acquiesced in that thing ; and further remembering that he was but young att that time when he enter'd into this engagement, and that many who had preacht and led the people into it, and of that parliament, who had declar'd it to be treason not to advance and promote that cause, were all now apostatiz'd, and as much preacht against it, and call'd it rebellion and murther, and sate on the tribunall to iudge it ; he again reflected seriously upon all that was past, and beg'd humbly of God to enlighten him and shew him his sin if ignorance or misunderstanding had led him into error ; but the more he examin'd the cause from the first, the more he became confirm'd in it, and from that time sett himselfe to a more diligent study of the scriptures, whereby he attain'd confirmation in many principles he had before, and dayly greater enlightnings concerning the free grace and love of God in Jesus Christ, and the

spirituall worship under the gospell, and the gospell liberty, which ought not to be subiect-ed to the wills and ordinances of men in the service of God. This made him reioyce in all he had done in the Lord's cause, and he would often say, the Lord had not thus eminently preserv'd him for nothing, but that he was yett kept for some eminent service or suffering in this cause; although having bene freely pardon'd by the present powers, he resolv'd not to doe aniething against the king, but thought himselfe oblig'd to sitt still and wish his prosperity in all things that were not destructive to the interest of Christ and his members on earth; yett as he could not wish well to any ill way, so he believ'd that God had sett him aside, and that therefore he ought to mourne in silence and retirednesse, while he lay under this obligation.

He had not bene long at home but a pursuivant from the councell was sent to fetch him from his house at Owthorpe, who carried him to the attorney generall. He, with all preparatory insinuations, how much he would express his gratitude to the king and his repentance for his error, if he would now deale ingenuously, in bearing testimony to what he should be examined, sifted him very thoroughly; but the collonell, who was peek'd at heart that

they should thus use him, to reserve him with an imagination that he would serve their turnes in witnessing to the destruction of the rest, compos'd himselfe as well as he could, and resolv'd upon another testimony then they expected, if they had call'd him to any. But the attorney generall was so ill satisfied with his private examination that he would not venture a publick one. He dealt with him with all the art and flatteries that could be, to make him but appeare, in the least thing, to have deserted his owne and embrac'd the king's party ; and he brought the warrant of execution to the collonell, and would faine have perswaded him to owne some of the hands, and to have imparted some circumstances of the sealing, because himselfe was present. But the collonell answered him, that in a businesse transacted so many years agoe, wherein life was concern'd, he durst not beare a testimony, having at that time bene so little an observer, that he could not remember the least title of that most eminent circumstance, of Cromwell's forcing Coll. Inglesby to sett to his unwilling hand, which, if his life had depended on that circumstance, he could not have affirm'd. " And then, Sir," say'd he, " if I have lost so great a thing as that, it cannot be expected lesse eminent passages remaine with me." Then being

shew'd the gentlemen's hands, he told him he was not well acquainted with them, as having never had commerce with the most of them by letters ; and those he could owne, he could only say they resembled the writings which he was acquainted with ; among these he only pickt out Cromwell's, Ireton's, and my lord Grey's. The attorney generall, very ill satisfied with his private examination, dismiss'd him ; yett was he serv'd with a writt to appear in the court the next day. The collonell had bene told that, when they were in distresse for witnesses to make up their formallity, Coll. Inglesby had put them upon sending for him, which made him give that instance to the attorney.* The next day the court sate, and the collonell was fetcht in and made to passe before the prisoner's faces, but examined to nothing ; which he much waited for, for the sight of the prisoners, with whom he believed himselfe to stand att the barre, and the sight of the iudges, among whom was that *vile traytor* who had sold the men that trusted him ; and he that openly sayd he abhorr'd the word *accommodation*, when moderate men would have

* *Risum tenentis*. The subject is too serious for laughter, but an involuntary smile will be excited by this sarcasm, so well pointed. It is no wonder the attorney general did not wish to examine him further!

prevented the warre ; and the collonell's owne *deare friend*, who had wisht damnation to his soule if he ever suffer'd pennie of any man's estate, or haire of any man's head, to be touch'd ; the sight of these * had so provok'd his spiritt that, if he had bene call'd to speake, he was resolv'd to have borne testimony to the cause and against the court ; but they asking him nothing, he went to his lodging, and so out of towne, and would not come any more into their court, but sent the attorney generall word he could witnesse nothing, and was sick with being kept in the crowd and the presse, and therefore desired to be excus'd from coming any more thither. The attorney made a very mallitious report of him to the chancellor and the king, insomuch as his ruine was then determined, and only opertunity watch'd to effect it. †

* Monk, Ashley Cooper, and Hollis. Does not every one feel his indignation roused at this wanton outrage upon decency? Perhaps Col. Hutchinson's appearance in court may have been misconstrued by many, as they might be ignorant that it was involuntary, and no one but himself could know that he meant to give evidence contrary to what was desired of him.

† The king intimated to the lords, when there were disputes on foot respecting the exceptions to the bill of indemnity, that "*other ways* might be found to meet " with those of turbulent and factious spirits : " thereby

When Sr. A. Apsley came to the chancellor he was in a greate rage and passion, and fell upon him with much vehemence. "O Nall," sayd he "what have you done? you have "sav'd a man that would be ready, if he had "oportunity, to mischiefe us as much as ever "he did." Sr. Allen was forc'd to stop his mouth, and tell him, that he believ'd his brother a lesse dangerous person then those he had brought into the king's councell, meaning Maynard and Glynne* ; but the truth is, from that time, all kindnesse that any one expresst to the collonell was ill resented, and the Countesse of Rochester was alsoe severely rebuk'd for having appear'd so kind to the colonell.

When the parliament sate againe the colonell sent up his wife to sollicite his businesse in the house, that the Lord Lexington's bill might not passe the lower house. At her first coming to towne a parliament man, a creature of Worcester-house, being in his coach, she out of her's call'd to him, who was her kinsman,

shewing that he had, like the rest of his family, secret reserves for rendering insignificant his public acts.

* Maynard and Glynne had chimed in not only with the parliament but with Cromwell, under whom both held offices. The chancellor will hereafter find them dangerous inmates—in pushing the affair of his accusation and exile.

and desir'd his vigilancy to prevent her iniury. "I could wish," sayd he, "it had bene finisht last time, for your husband hath lately so ill behav'd himselfe that it will passe against him." She answer'd, "I pray let my friends but doe their endeavours for me, and then let it be as God will." He, smiling att her, replied, "*It is not now as God will *, but as wee will.*" However she, notwithstanding many other discouragements, waited upon the businesse every day, when her adversaries as dilligently solicited against her. One day a friend came out of the house and told her that they were that day so engag'd that she might go home and rest secure nothing would be done, and that day most of her friends were away, and her opposites tooke this oppertunity to bring it into the house, which was now much alienated, especially all the court party, from the collonell; but God, to shew that not friends, nor dilligence, preserv'd our estates, stirr'd up the hearts of strangers to do us iustice, and the bill was throwne out when wee had scarce one of these friends wee relied on in the house.

Presently after Mrs. Hutchinson came to towne a kinsman of hers, fallen into the wicked

* This well marks the change of style that had taken place.

councells of the court, came to visit her one evening, and had bene so freely drinking as to unlock his bosome, when he told her that the king had bene lately among them where he was, and told them that they had sav'd a man, meaning Coll. Hutchinson, who would doe the same thing for him he did for his father, for he was still unchang'd in his principles, and readier to protect then accuse any of his associates, and would not discover any councells or designes, or any party, though he were knowne to have hated them.* Then this gentleman told her how contemptuous a carriage it was, that he would not owne one but dead hands, and how they were resolv'd his pardon should never passe the seale, and what a desperate condition he was reduc'd to. Having thus affrighted her, then, to draw her in by examples, he told her how the late statesman's wives came and offer'd them all the informations they had ga-

* The king's satirical favourite, Rochester, reports of him that he never said a foolish thing ; but surely this was not a very wise one ! How could he have faith in any such sudden changes ? What he did not mean to do he did, which was to establish Col. Hutchinson's steadiness and consistency beyond question. We know from this history that Col. Hutchinson's sense of honour was a complete safeguard against him ; but this was a principle of which Charles felt not, and affected to disbelieve the existence.

ther'd from their husbands; and how she could not but know more then any of them; and if yett she would impart anie thing that might shew her gratitude, she might redeeme her famely from ruine; and then perticularly told her how her husband had bene intimate with Vane, Pierrepont, and St. Johns, whose counsellors they knew how farre they had gone in this matter, and that if she would prevent others in the declaring of them, she might much advantage herselfe. But she told him, she perceiv'd any safety one could buy of them was not worth the price of honor and conscience; that she knew nothing of state managements, or if she did, she would not establish herselfe upon any man's blood and ruine. Then he employ'd all his witt to circumvent her in discource, to have gotten something out of her concerning some persons they aym'd at, which if he could, I believe would have bene beneficiall to him; but she discern'd his drift, and scorn'd to become an informer, and made him believe she was ignorant, though she could have enlightened him in the thing he sought for; which they are now never likely to know much of, it being lockt up in the grave, and they that survive not knowing that their secrets are remoov'd into another cabinet.*

* Any who are delighted with the discovery of a secret

After all, naturall affection working at that time with the gentleman, he in great kindnesse

will be disappointed that Mrs. Hutchinson did not even here reveal hers, but resisted the bewitching vanity of shewing the confidence that had been reposed in her by betraying it. She might, perhaps, with great propriety, think it not prudent to commit it to writing, though it was to be read only by her own family. — Of the persons here named, Sir H. Vane, it is well known, was sacrificed to the manes of Lord Strafford, whose attainder he was supposed, in a great measure, to have procured; but there seems not to have been any pretence for excepting him out of the amnesty. He viewed his fate, and the king who sentenced him to it, with equal contempt; and the passage before us is a proof of the fidelity he maintained towards his associates. — St. John was excluded from all offices; but Pierrepont escaped untouched in all respects, and represented the county of Nottingham in the short parliament which restored the king, but appears not to have been re-chosen in that which succeeded it. That he who was so *deeply engaged* should have come off so well, is matter of wonder, and the more so when we take into consideration the following particulars.

The ingenious writer of the critique of this work in the Annual Review, conjectures that the secret which this friend of Mrs. Hutchinson endeavoured to extort from her was, *the name of that considerable person who had formed the design of settling the state under Richard Cromwell*, as mentioned in p. 222. This is highly probable, and still more so that this person was Mr. William Pierrepont, and that the royalists aimed peculiarly at his destruction, as will appear from many passages that are to be found in

advis'd her that her husband should leave England. She told him he could not conveniently,

the third volume of Clarendon's State Papers. In one part the good-will of Pierrepont to Rd. Cromwell, and Richard's respect for him, are spoken of: in another Hyde instructs his spies to "gain Thurloe, whom he thinks "considerable, and he would gain St. John and Pierrepont," adding significantly, "they have manifested that "they have no inveterate objection to a *single person*, "and the right heir is the best person." In another place it is said by one of the spies, that "St. John, Pierrepont, "and Thurloe, continue to cabal and press the general " (Monk); *three such evil beasts do not exist.*" But when Pierrepont is reported to be ill, the most eager wishes are expressed for his death. No doubt but the *virtuous ministers* of Charles II. dreaded his abilities and integrity as they coveted his property: but supported by such connections as he was, they could not venture to attack him without some clear and strong information against him. That these harpies were disappointed in their project of extinguishing this eminent patriot and his family, and pouncing on their possessions, may then most likely be attributed to the constancy and discretion of Mrs. Hutchinson. But if this conjecture should appear satisfactory to our readers, it cannot but give them extraordinary pleasure to learn that the relicks of Col. Hutchinson's family have found in the representative of William Pierrepont, Earl Manvers, a friend and patron worthy that pristine faith and hereditary friendship which has now stood the test of two centuries. — It is not beside the purpose to remark here, that although Mrs. Hutchinson, all through her history, uses the utmost modesty, and abstains from all self-commendation, yet here, and in many other places,

and the act of oblivion being past, she knew not why he should feare, who was resolv'd to doe nothing that might forfeit the grace he had found. But he told her it was determin'd that, if there were the least pretence in the world, the collonell should be imprison'd, and never be left loose againe; which warning, though others of his friends sayd it was but an effect of his wine, the consequence prov'd it but too true.

She advertis'd the collonell and perswaded him, being alsoe advis'd to the same by other friends, to go out of England, but he would not: he sayd this was the place where God had sett him, and protected him hitherto, and it would be in him an ungratefull distrust of God to forsake it.* At this time he would have sold

she necessarily and naturally proves herself to have possessed the most valuable qualities. Amongst those of women, it is not very common to count that firmness of mind and just sense of honour which made her disdain to serve her husband and children at the cost of others. To that enlarged system of education under which she was brought up, and to her reading of the classics, it is but fair to attribute, in some degree, the expansion and elevation of her mind.

* This is a pregnant instance of Col. Hutchinson's strong belief in the decrees of providence, and, at the same time, of his sincere conformity to them: it is much to be regretted that he adhered so minutely and literally to it,

part of his estate to pay his debts, but the purchasers scrupled, desireing to see his pardon, which he not having, was faine to breake of the treaty; and though all the friends he had labour'd it, the chancellor utterly refus'd it. There was a thousand pounds offer'd to one to procure it, but it was tried severall times and would not passe, by reason of which he was prevented of the oppertunity then to settle his estate; yet a yeare after a little solicitor shufled it in among many others, and manag'd it so dexterously that it past all the seales. The collonell's estate being in mortgage with a peevish alderman, who had a designe upon it, to have bought it for little or nothing, he had a greate trouble with him; for having procur'd him his mony, he would not assigne the mortgage, and the others would not lend the mony without assignment from him, so that it put the collonell to many inconveniences and greate expence.

This parliament being risen, another was call'd by the king's writt, wherein the act of oblivion was againe confirm'd, not without some canvassing and opposition; and here

instead of making use of his own and his friends' discretion. He might well have lived to see the happy Revolution, and have returned and benefited his native country again by his spirit, wisdom, and experience.

againe another act about that mony of the Lord Lexington's was prepar'd and twice read in the house, through divers abominable untruths which they had forg'd and possest the members withall. The collonell himselfe solicited his owne defence, and had all the iniustice and fowle play imaginable att the committee appoynted to examine it, and it was so desperate that all his friends perswaded him to compound it; but he would not, though his enemies offer'd it, but sayd, he would either be clear'd by a iust, or ruin'd by an uniuert sentence, and, persuing it with his usual allacrity and vigor in all things, he at last remoov'd that prepossession that some of the gentlemen had against him, and clearing himselfe to some that were most violent, it pleas'd God to turne the hearts of the house at last to doe him iustice, and to throw out the bill for evermore, which was a greate mercy to him and his famely, for it was to have throwne him out of possession of all the estates he had, and to have put them into his enemies' hands till they had satisfied themselves; but the defending himselfe was very chargeable to him, and not only so, but this rumour of trouble upon his estate, and the braggs of his enemies, and the clowd he lay under, hinder'd him both from

letting and selling, and improoving, his estate, so that it very much augmented his debt.

Before this time, in December 1660, Capitaine Coooper sent one Broughton, a lieftenant, and Andrews a cornett, with a company of souldiers, who plunder'd his house at Owthorpe, while he was absent, of all the weapons they found in it, to his very wearing swords, and his owne armor for himselfe, although at that time there was no prohibition of any person whatsoever to have or weare arms. The collonell was not then at home, and the arms were layd up in a closet within his chamber, where they search'd, and all the house over, to see if they could have found plate or anie thing else, but when they could not, they carried these away, which one of his servants, whom he had dismiss'd with a good reward, betrey'd to them. His eldest sonne went to the Marquesse of Newcastle, lord lieftenant of the county, and complain'd of the violence of the souldiers, and my lord gave him an order to have the swords and other things back, and some pistolls which were the Lord Biron's, but Mr. Cooper contemn'd my lord's order, and would not obey it. The arms were worth neere 100*l*.

Alsoe an order came downe from the secre-

tary, commanding certeine pictures and other things the collonell had bought out of the late king's collection, which had cost him in ready mony between 1000*l*. and 1500*l*. and were of more vallue, and these, notwithstanding the act of oblivion, were all taken from him.

After these troubles were over from without, the collonell liv'd with all imaginable re-tirednesse att home, and, because his active spirit could not be idle nor very sordidly employ'd, tooke up his time in opening springs, and planting trees, and dressing his plantations; and these were his recreations, wherein he reliev'd many poore labourers when they wanted worke, which was a very comfortable charity to them and their famelies: with these he would entertain himselfe, giving them much encouragement in their honest labours, so that they delighted to be employ'd by him. His businesse was serious revolving the law of God, wherein he labour'd to instruct his children and servants, and enioy'd himselfe with much patience and comfort, not envying the glories and honors of the court, nor the prosperity of the wicked; but only griev'd that the streightnesse of his owne revenues would not supplie his large heart to the poore people in affliction. Some little troubles he had in his owne house. His sonne, unknowne to him, married a very

worthy person*, with the manner of which he was so discontented that he once resolv'd to have banisht them for ever, but his good nature was soone overcome, and he receiv'd them into his bosome, and for the short time he enjoy'd her had no lesse love for her then for any of his owne children. And indeed she was worthy of it, applying herselfe with such humble dutifullnesse and kindnesse to repaire her fault, and to please him in all the things he delighted in, that he was ravisht with the ioy of her, who lov'd the place not as his own wife did, only because she was plac'd in it, but with a naturall affection, which encourag'd him in all the paynes he tooke to adorne it, when he had one to leave it to that would esteeme it. She was besides naturalliz'd into his house and interests, as if she had had no other regard in the world; she was pious and chearfull, liberall and thrifty, complaisant and kind to all the famely, and the freest from humor of any woman, loving home, without melancholly or sullenesse, observant of her father and mother, not with regret, but with delight, and the most submissive, affectionate wife, that ever was: but she, and all the ioy of her sweete, saint-like conversation, ended in a lamented grave,

* The daughter of Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, of the royalist party.

about a yeare after her marriage, when she died in childbirth, and left the sweetest babe behind her that ever was beheld, whose face promist all its mother's graces, but death within eight weeks after her birth ravisht this sweete blossom, whose fall open'd the fresh wounds of sorrow for her mother, thus doubly lost. While the mother liv'd, which was ten days after her delivery, the collonell and his wife employ'd all imaginable paynes and cares for her recovery, whereof they had often hopes, but in the end all in vaine; she died, and left the whole house in very sensible affliction, which continued upon the collonell and his wife till new stroakes awakened them out of the silent sorrow of this funerall. Her husband having no ioy in the world after she was gone, some months shut himselfe up with his grieffe in his chamber, out of which he was hardly perswaded to goe, and when he did, every place about home so much renew'd the remembrance of her, he could not think of but with deepe affliction, that being invited by his friends abroad to divert his melancholly*, he grew a little out of love with home, which was a greate damping to the pleasures his father tooke in the place: but he, how eager soever

* Mr. Thomas Hutchinson did not marry again, but died without issue.

he were in the love of any worldly thing, had that moderation of spiritt that he submitted his will alwayes to God, and endeavoured to give him thanks in all things.

This winter, about October and the following months, the papists began to be very high, and a sort of strangers were come into Nottingham, who were observ'd to distinguish themselves by scarlett ribands in their hatts; and one night, in a drunken humor, a papist fired a hay barne in a wood yard in Nottingham, which, if not discover'd and prevented by many providences, might have endanger'd much of the towne: but it did 200*l.* worth of mischief; but the matter was shuffled up and compounded, allthough the same night severall other townes were attempted to be fired. A greate papist at Eastwold was knowne to assemble 200 men in armes in the night, and some of the Lord Carrington's tenants, that went to Arundell-house to speake with their landlord, observ'd very strange suspitious signes of some great businesse on foote among the papists, who, both in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, were so exalted, that the very country people every where apprehended some insurrection. Among the rest there was a light-headed debosht young knight, that liv'd next towne to Owthorpe, who vapour'd be-

yond all bounds, and had 12 paire of holsters for pistolls at one time of the collonell's sadler, and ridd at that time with half a douzen men armed, up and downe the country, and sent them, and went himselfe to severall men who had bene souldiers in the armie, to offer them brave termes to list under him, telling them, they, meaning the papists, should have a day for it. Besides he, with the parson of the parish, and some other men, at an alehouse, began a health to the confusion of all the protestants in England; and one of the collonell's maides going to Colson, to have a sore eie cured by a woman in the towne, heard there that he had vapour'd the papists should shortly have their day, and that he would not leave one allive in the collonell's house. He sent to the preacher of Cotgrove, to forbid him to preach on gunpowder-treason day, threatening to kill him if he did, insomuch that the towne were forc'd to keep a guard all that day upon the steeple.

The men whom the papists had endeavour'd to list, acquainted the collonell with it, whereof some being in Leicestershire, the collonell sent his sonne to Sr. George Villiers, one of the deputy lieftenants of that county, to acquaint him with it; but he slighted the matter, although at that time it would have bene

prov'd that Golding brought a whole coach
 loaden with pistolls as many as they could
 stuffe under the seates and in the bootes, to
 the house of one Smith, a papist, dwelling at
 Quineborough, in Leicestershire. The col-
 lonell alsoe sent to the deputy leiftenants of
 our county to acquaint them the publick dan-
 ger, and how himselfe was threatened; and,
 by reason that his house had bene disarm'd,
 desir'd that he might have leave to procure
 some necessary arms to defend it; but they
 sent him word that the insurrection of the
 papists was but a fanatique ielousie, and if
 he were afraid, they would send him a guard,
 but durst not allow him to arme his house.
 He disdaining their security that would not
 trust him with his owne, would have taken a
 house att Nottingham for his wife to lie in,
 who being then big with child, was neare her
 account; but although she were fearefull, yet
 when she found him resolv'd to stay in his
 owne house, she would not goe; whereupon
 he made strong shutts to all his low windores
 with iron barres, and that very night that
 they were sett up, the house was attempted
 to be broken in the night, and the glasse of
 one of the greate casements broken, and the
 little iron barrs of it crasht in sunder. Mrs.
 Hutchinson being late up heard the noyse,

and thought somebody had bene forcing the doores, but as wee since heard, it was Golding who made the attempt. The common people every where falling into suspition of the papists, began to be highly offended at their insolence, and to mutter strange words; whither it were this, or what elce wee know not, but their designe proceeded no further; yett there is nothing more certeine then that at that time they had a designe of rising generally all over England in arms. But the collonell liv'd so retir'd, that he never understood how it was taken up, and how it fell of, yett although they would not take the allarum from him, even the gentlemen of the county afterwards believ'd they were hatching some mischiefe and fear'd it.

The collonell continued his usuall retirednesse all that winter, and the next summer, about the end of which he dreamt one night that he saw certeine men in a boate upon the Thames, labouring against wind and tide, to bring their boate, which stuck in the sands, to shore; att which he, being in the boate, was angrie with them, and told them they toyl'd in vaine, and would never effect their purpose; but say'd he, lett it alone and lett me try; whereupon he lay'd him downe in the boate, and applying his brest to the head

of it, gently shoov'd it along, till he came to land on Southworke side, and there going out of the boate, walk'd in the most pleasant lovely fields, so greene and flourishing, and so embellisht with the cheerfull sunne that shone upon them, as he never saw aniething soe delightfull, and there he mett his father, who gave him certeine leaves of lawrell which had many words written in them which he could not read. The collonell was never superstitious of dreams, but this stuck a little in his mind, and we were therefore seeking applications of it, which proof'd nothing in the event, but that having afforded one, I know not whither the dreame might not be inspir'd. The boate representing the commonwealth, which severall unquiet people sought to enfranchise, by vaine endeavours, against wind and tide, paralleling the plotts and designes some impatient people then carried on without strength, or councell, or unity among themselves; his lying downe and shooving it with his breast, might signify the advancement of the cause by the patient suffering of the martyrs, among which his owne was to be eminent, and on the other side of the river to land him into walkes of everlasting pleasure, he dying on that shore, and his father's giving him these lawrell leaves with

unintelligible characters, foretold him those triumphs which he could not read in his mortal estate ; but to let dreames passe—

I cannot here omitt one story, though not altogether so much of the collonell's concerne, yet hap'ning this summer, not unworthy mention. Mr. Palmer, a certeine nonconformist preacher, was taken at his owne house in Nottingham by the maior of the towne, for preaching upon the Lord's day, and some others with him, (whereof one was formerly a servant of the collonell's, and had married one of his maydes,) and put into the towne's iayle, where they continued about two or three months. There being a grated window in the prison, that was almost even with the ground, and look'd into the streete, all people coming by, might see these poore people, kept in a damp ill-favour'd roome, where they patiently exhorted and chear'd one another. One Lord's day, after sermon-time, the prisoners were singing a psalme, and the people as they past up and downe, still when they came to the prison, stood still, till there were a greate many gather'd about the windore at which Mr. Palmer was preaching ; whereupon the maior, one Toplady, who had formerly bene a parliament officer, but was now a renegado, came violently with his officers, and beate

the people, and thrust some into prison that were but passing the streetes, kickt and pincht the men's wives in his rage, and was the more exasperated, when some of them told him, how ill his fury became him, who had once bene one of them. The next day, or few days after having given order the prisoners should every Lord's day after be lockt in the colehouse, he went to London and made information, I heard oath, to the councell, that a thousand of the country came in armed to the towne, and marcht to the prison window, to hear the prisoner preach; whereupon he procur'd an order for a troope of horse to be sent downe to quarter at Nottingham to keepe the fanatiques in awe. But one who had relation to the towne, being then at court, and knowing this to be false, certified to the contrary and prevented the troope. After the maior came downe, he was one night taken with a vomitting of blood, and being ill, call'd his man and his maid, who alsoe at the same time fell a bleeding, and were all ready to be choak'd in their owne blood, which at last stopping, they came to assist him; but after that he never lift up his head, but languisht a few months and died.

While these poore people were in prison, the collonell sent them some mony, and assoone as their time was expir'd, Mr. Palmer came to

Owthorpe to give him thanks, and preach there one Lord's day.* Whither this were taken notice of is not evident, but within a

* This transaction is seemingly of small note; but will be found of the last importance to the parties concerned. By the declaration from Breda—"Liberty was granted "to tender consciences, and none were to be questioned "for difference of opinion in matters of religion, which do "not disturb the peace of the kingdom." But the parliament, which was chosen after the restoration, and which consisted in a great degree of tories and high church men, encouraged and led on by the chancellor, passed several severe acts against all dissenters indiscriminately. Particularly one called, the Act of Uniformity, and this they followed up with an act forbidding non-conformists to frequent conventicles, under which probably Mr. Palmer was seized. As it had been declared that those who differed from the church could not fail to be enemies to the state, and that the fanatics, as they called them, resorted to these meetings under pretence of religion, but in reality to form and ripen plots and seditions, and that principally for this reason these acts were framed, this renegade very aptly introduced his thousand men in arms.

How far it was discreet in Col. Hutchinson at such a juncture to let this man preach at Owthorpe, on whom a mark had been set, is doubtful; it seems that, in general, he confined his religious opinions and worship to his own house, and was of course inoffensive, even to the captious government under which he lived.

The manner, time, and place of his being seized, demonstrate the falsehood of the legend contained in Throsby's edition of Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, of his long concealment in his own house, and at last being taken *coming home from church.*

short time after upon the Lord's day, the 11th of October, 1663, the collonell having that day finisht the expounding of the Epistle to the Romans to his household, and the servants being gone out of the parlour from him, one of them came in and told him souldiers were come to the towne. He was not at all surpriz'd, but stay'd in the roome till they came in, who were conducted by Atkinson, one of those Newark men, who had so violently before prosecuted him at the parliament, and he told the collonell he must goe along with them, after they had searcht the house; for which the collonell-requir'd their commission, which at the first they say'd they need not shew, but after they shew'd him an order from Mr. Francis Leke, one of the deputy lieftenants, forthwith to repayre to his house, to search for and bring away what armes they could find, and to seize his person. All which they did, and found no armes in the house, but four birding gunns, that hung open in the kitchen, which being the young gentleman's, at that time they left. It was after sunsett when they came, and they were at least two howers searching every corner and all about the house, and the collonell was not at that time very well in health, and not having bene for six months before on horseback, had neither horses nor saddles at that time in the house; the coach-

man was alsoe gone away, and the coach-horses turned out, and it was as bitter, a stormie, pitchie, darke, blacke, raynie night, as anie that came that yeare; all which consider'd, the collonell desir'd that they would but stay for the morning light, that he might accommodate himselfe: but they would not, but forc'd him to goe then allong with them, his eldest sonne lending him a horse, and alsoe voluntarily accompanying him to Newark, where about foure of the clock in the morning, he was brought into the Talbott, and put into a most vile roome, and two souldiers kept guard upon him in that roome.

And now what they ayl'd wee knew not, but they were all seiz'd with a panick feare, and the whole country fiercely allarum'd, and kept at Newark, many dayes at intollerable charges, and I thinke they never yett knew what they were sent for in to doe, but to guard Coll. Hutchinson; who being at first put into a roome that look'd into the streete, was remoov'd after into a back roome, worse, if worse could be, and so bad that they would not lett the Duke of Buckingham's footemen lodge in it: and here he continued, no man comming at him nor letting him know why he was brought in. The next day Mrs. Hutchinson sent him some linnen, and assoone as the man came, Tomson, the host of the inne, would not suffer him to

see his master, but seiz'd him and kept him prisoner two days. Mr. Thomas Hutchinson had a mare which the inne-keeper had a desire to buy, and his father perswaded him to lett him have her worth mony, who thereupon agreed on the price, only Tomson desir'd him to lett him trie the mare six miles, which he condescended to, upon condition that if Tomson ridd the mare above six miles, he should pay the mony for her, and furnish Mr. Hutchinson with a horse home, or to my lord of Newcastle's, or any other occasion he had while he was at Newark. Upon this bargaine Tomson had the mare, but instead of going but six miles, led a greater partie of horse then those who first seiz'd the collonell to Owthorpe, and coming in after sunsett, to the affright of Mrs. Hutchinson and her children, againe searcht their house more narrowly if possible then at first, with much more insolent behaviour, although they found no more than at first; but they tooke away the birding gunns they had left before, and from Owthorpe went to Nottingham, where they tooke one Capitaine Wright and Lieftenant Franck, who had bene Lambert's agitant-generall, and brought the poore men to Newark, where they are yett prisoners, and to this day know not why.*

* This shews that the confinement of these persons lasted still longer than Col. Hutchinson's, and likewise

Severall others were taken prisoners, among the rest one Whittinton, a lieftenant, who being carried to prison, " Coll. Hutchinson," say'd he, " hath betrey'd us all ;" such were the base iealousies of our owne party over him, who because he was not hang'd at first, imagin'd and spoke among themselves all the scandalls that could be devis'd of him, as one that had deserted the cause, and lay private here in the country to trepan all the party, and to gather and transmitt all intelligence to the court, and a thousand such things, giving each other warning to take heed of comming neere him. Those who began to render him thus odious among his owne party, were the Lambertionians, in mallice because he had openly oppos'd their rebellious insolencies against the parliament. Frank and Whittington, &c. were of these, but the collonell would not put himselfe in hazard to rectifie their uniust thoughts, and had no resort of his owne friends, the soberer and honester men of the party; only, asmuch as the streights that were upon him would allow, when any of them were in distresse, would send them reliefe. Hereupon some, convinc'd of the iniu-

that this history was written while the events were still recent and fresh in the memory.

ries they did him, about this time sought to doe him right, in some meeting where one of the Buckingham's trapans was, and sayd he was unchang'd in his principles, which was all that ever I could heare was inform'd against him, but aniething would serve for those who sought a pretence.*

While the collonell was at Newark, Golding the papist, was a very busie fellow in spying, and watching his house at Owthorpe, and sending in frivolous stories, which amounted to nothing, but declaring his pittifull malice, as they that received it after told the collonell.

When Tomson came back, Mr. Hutchinson, out of the window, spied his owne gunne, which some of the men brought in, and soone understood that this rogue had made use of his owne horse to plunder him. At night Tomson, the host, came up into the collonell's chamber, and behav'd himselfe most insolently, where-

* The whole history of the reign of Charles the Second is filled with plots, real or imaginary, but mostly the latter: of all the engines of state, the most nefarious is that at this time much employed, of sham or pretended fomenters of sedition or *trepan*s, who drew unwary persons either into some confederacy or expressions of discontent, and then gave information, probably heightened by invention. Many have thought the information given against Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, whereon they were tried and condemned, was no better.

upon the collonell snacht up a candlestick and lay'd him over the chaps with it, whereupon Mr. Leke, being in the house, and hearing the bustle, with others, came in with drawne swords, and the collonell tooke that opportunity to tell him, that he stood upon his iustification, and desired to know his crime and his accusers, and that till then he was content to be kept as safe as they would have him, but desir'd to be deliver'd out of the hands of that insolent fellow, and to have accommodation fitt for a gentleman.; which when they saw he would not be without, for he would eate no more meate in that house, they after two days remov'd him to the next inne, where he was civilly treated, with guards still remaining upon him.

It was not passion which made the collonell doe this, for he was not at all angrie, but despis'd all the mallice of his enemies, but he having bene now foure dayes in Newark, Mr. Leke came every day to the house where he was kept by Leke's warrant, and never vouchsaf'd so much as to looke on him, but put him into the hands of a drunken insolent host, who dayly affronted him, which, if he would have suffer'd, he saw would be continued upon him; therefore knowing that Leke was then in the house, he tooke that occasion to make

him come to him, and thereupon obtain'd a remove to an accommodation more befitting a gentleman.

While he was at the other inne, severall gentlemen of the king's party came to him, some whom he had knowne, and some whom he had never seene, complementing him, as if he had not bene a prisoner, which he very much admir'd att, and could yett never understand, for by his former usage he saw it was not their good nature; but whither this carriage of his had made them believe innocency was the ground of his confidence, or whither the appearance of his greate spiritt had made them willing to oblige him, or whither even his vertue had stricken them with a guilty dread of him, though a prisoner, certeine it is, that some who had bene his greatest enemies, began to flatter with him, whereupon, in a Bible he carried in his pockett, and markt upon all occasions, he mark'd that place, Prov. xvi. 7. "when a man's wayes please the Lord, he maketh his enemies to be at peace with him."

The 19th of October, Mr. Leke, with a party of horse, carried the collonell to the Marquesse of Newcastle's, who treated him very honorably; and then falling into discourse with him, "Collonell," sayth he, "they say you desire to know your accusers, which

“ is more than I know.” And thereupon very freely shew’d him the Duke of Buckingham’s letter, commanding him to imprison the colonell, and others, upon suspition of a plott, which my lord was so fully satisfied the colonell was innocent of, that he dismiss him without a guard to his owne house, only engaging him to stay there one weeke, till he gave account to the counsell, upon which he was confident of his liberty. * The collonell

* Here shines out the genuine spirit of a noble Briton ! This was the same man, who commanding a host, against which the forces Col. Hutchinson had to defend Nottingham Castle with, were but as a dwarf before a giant, yet saw his fidelity to be proof against both danger, and the temptation of great rewards, and had generosity enough to see and value virtue in an adversary ; he well knew that such a person as the colonel, was safer in the keeping of his own honour than all the guards or prisons of his enemies. Who can fail to regret that such a man should have been so long the dupe of his loyalty to the Stuarts, and above all that he should have to receive mandates from the infamous sycophants of Charles the Second ! If a man were inevitably to be persecuted, it made much for his honour, and somewhat for his satisfaction, to have two men of such opposite characters as Newcastle and Buckingham, the one for his protector, the other for his persecutor.

Of Buckingham we shall again have occasion to speak.

As we shall not again see any thing more of this *truly noble* man, the Marquis of Newcastle, we take this opportunity to cite, from a tradition preserved by Deering, in his History of Nottingham, that, at the time of the

thus dismiss, came home, and upon the 22d day of October, a party of horse, sent only with a wretched corporall, came about 11 of the clock with a warrant from Mr. Leke, and fetcht him back to Newark, to the inne where he was before, Mr. Twentimans, who being still civill to him, whisper'd him assoone as he allighted, that it was determined he should be close prisoner; whereupon the collonell say'd he would no more pay any centinells that they sett upon him, yett they sett two hired souldiers, having now dismiss the county,

great revolution, another Cavendish, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Devonshire, together with Lord Delamere, son of that Sir George Booth whose life and fortunes Col. Hutchinson preserved, together with Col. Hutchinson's half-brother, and others of that country, set up their standard at Nottingham; there waked again the soul of liberty and patriotism, which had slept ever since Col. Hutchinson's days, and causing the trumpet to sound to arms, and telling the inhabitants a Stuart was at hand with all his army, saw the whole people fly to arms, some on horseback, some on foot, with all the various weapons they could find, march all as one man to meet him, and take their determined stand at that pass of the Trent where their old governor had repeatedly fought and conquered, and whose spirit they imagined to hover over and inspire them with its wonted energy. Having thus tried their temper, he committed to the guard of these true-born sons of freedom, that princess (Anne) who was to carry the British name to its highest pitch of glory.

but the collonell forbade the inne to give them any drinke, or anie thing elce upon his account. The next day, being the 23d, Mr. Leke came to him, and shew'd him a letter from my Lord Newcastle, wherein my lord writt that he was sorry he could not persue that kindnesse he intended the collonell, believing him innocent, for that he had receiv'd a command from Buckingham to keepe him close prisoner, without pen, inke, or paper; and to shew the reality of this, with the order he sent a copie of the duke's letter, which was alsoe shew'd the collonell; and in it was this expression, "*that though he could not make it out as yett, he hop'd he should bring Mr. Hutchinson into the plott.*" Mr. Leke having communicated these orders to Mr. Hutchinson, told him he was to goe to London, and should leave him in the charge of the maior of Newark.

Because here is so much noyse of a plott, it is necessary to tell what it hath since appear'd. The Duke of Buckingham sett a worke one Gore, sheriffe of Yorkshire, and others, who sent out trepanners among the discontented people, to stirre them to insurrection to restore the old parliament, gospell ministry, and English liberty, which specious things found very many ready to entertaine them,

and abundance of simple people were caught in the nett; whereof some lost their lives, and others fled. * But the collonell had no hand in it, holding himselfe oblig'd at that time to be quiet. It is true he still suspected insurrections of the papists, and had secur'd his house and his yards, better then it was the winter before, against any suddain night assaults.

After Mr. Leke was gone, the maior, one Herring, of Newark, a rich, but simple fellow, sent the iaylor to Mr. Hutchinson, to tell him he must goe to his house; which the collonell refusing to doe voluntarily, without a mittimus from some magistrate, the maior sent five constables and two souldiers, who, by violence, both forc'd the collonell out of his quarters, and into the iayle without any legall commitment, although the collonell warn'd both the iaylor and the men of the danger of the law, by this illegall imprisonment. The collonell would not advance att all into the prison, into which the men would faine have entreated him; but when they saw they could not perswade, they violently thrust him in, where the

* Rapin speaks slightly and cursorily of this, under the name of the Northern Plot; but plainly shews that some of the principal persons pretended to have been concerned in it, neither were nor could be.

iaylor afterwards used him pretty civilly : but the roome being unfitt for him, he gott cold and fell very sick, when, upon the 27th of October, Mr. Leke, with the marquesses secretary, came to him, and found him soe, and acquainted him, that the marquesse had receiv'd expresse orders from the king, to send him up in safe custody to London. Mr. Leke finding him so ill, was so civill to permitt him to goe by his owne house, which was as neere a roade, that he might there take accommodations for his iourney, and be carried up at more ease, in his owne coach, Mr. Leke himselfe being necessitated to make more haste then he could have done, if he had stay'd for the party that was to guard the collonell, went away before, and left his orders for sending him away with Mr. Atkinson, who first seiz'd him. The same 27th day, att night, his house at Owthorpe was againe searcht, and he and his wife being abroad, all their boxes and cabinetts broken open, and all their papers rifled, but yet for all this they could find nothing to colour their iniustice to him.

Having bene falsely and illegally imprison'd, from six of the clock on Friday night the 23d of October, till ten of the clock in the morning October the 28th, he was then, in order to his going to London, brought by Beek the

iaylor, to Twentimans the inne, from whence he was hal'd, to stay there till a commanded party of the county horse came to guard him to London. But one division of the county who had warrants sent them, not comming in, Atkinson sent into that part where the collonell liv'd, and his owne neighbours comming slowly and unwillingly to that service, he was forc'd to stay there all that day till night in the custody of the iaylor. At night, when he was in bed, the maior, being drunke, commanded him to be carried back to the iayle, but the iaylor, weary of his drunken commands, sat up with two souldiers, and guarded him in the inne.

The next day the partie not being come in, a meane fellow, that was appoynted to command the collonell's guard, one Corporall Willson, came and told him that he must not goe by his owne house, nor have the privelledge of his coach, but be carried up another way; whereupon the collonell sent to Atkinson, to desire him he might not be denied that civillity Mr. Leke had allowed him; but he was so peevish and obstinate that the collonell was sending his sonne post to the Marquisse of Newcastle's to complaine of his mallitious inhumanity, who would have forc'd him on horseback without any accommodation, when he

was so ill that he could not have ridden one stage without manifest hazard of his life : and yet Mr. Cecill Cooper and Mr. Whally, though iustices and deputy lieftenants, could not prevaile with him, till he saw the collonell as resolute as himselfe : and then at last, by their mediation, (wherein Mr. Cecill Cooper did soomething redeeme his former causelesse hatred, which made him plunder the house, and deteine the plunder when it was order'd back), the collonell, about sunsett, was sent out of Newark, with those horse that were come in, to stay for the rest at his owne house. Being driven in the night by an unskillfull coachman, the coach was overturn'd and broken ; but about 12 of the clock at night they came safe home. Thus the collonell tooke his last leave of Newark, which being a place he had formerly subdued, and replete with so many mallitious enemies to the whole party, and more particularly to him, upon no other account but that he had bene the most formidable protector of the other party in this country, he expected farre worse treatment from the generallity of the towne ; who were so farre from ioyning in ioy of his captivity, that when he was forc'd through their streets they gave him very civill respect, and when he came away civill farewells, and all mutter'd exceed-

ingly at their maior, and say'd he would undoe their towne by such simple illegall proceedings. The collonell regarded all these civillities from the towne, who were generally much concern'd in his iniuries, and from Cooper and others, not as of themselves, but as from God, who at that time overaw'd the hearts of his enemies, as once he did Laban's and Esau's, and was much confirm'd in the favour of God thereby, and nothing at all daunted at the malice of his prosecutors, but went as cheerefully into captivity as another would have come out of it.

They were forc'd to stay a day at Owthorpe, for the mending of the coach and comming in of the souldiers, where the collonell had the oportunity to take leave of his poore labourers, who wept all bitterly when he pay'd them of, but he comforted them and smil'd, and without any regrett went away from his bitterly weeping children, and servants, and tenants, his wife and his eldest sonne and daughter going with him, upon Saturday the 31st of October.

Golding, the night before he went, had sent him a pot of marmalade to eat in the coach, and a letter to desire all grutches might be forgotten, and high flattering stuffe, by his man that was to be one of the guard, which he

say'd he had chosen out the best he had, and his best horse, and if he did not pay him all respect he would turne him away; and as the collonell came by his doore, came out with wine, and would faine have brought him into the house to eate oysters, but the collonell only drank with him, and bid him friendly farewell, and went on, not guarded as a prisoner, but waited on by his neighbours. Mrs. Hutchinson was exceedingly sad, but he encouraged and kindly chid her out of it, and told her it would blemish his innocence for her to appeare afflicted, and told her if she had but patience to waite the event, she would see it all for the best, and bade her be thankfull for the mercy that she was permitted this comfort to accompany him in the journey, and with divers excellent exhortations chear'd her who was not wholly abandon'd to sorrow, while he was with her, who, to divert her, made himselfe sport with his guards, and deceiv'd the way, till upon the 3d of November he was brought to the Crown, in Holborne. From thence, the next day, he was carried by Mr. Leke to the Tower, and committed there close prisoner, by warrant, signed by Secretary Bennett the 20th of October, whereby he stood committed for treasonable practises, though he had never yett bene examin'd by any magistrate, one or other. His wife, by his command, restrein'd herselfe as much as she could from shewing her sadnesse,

whom he bad to remember how often he had told her that God never preserv'd him so extraordinarily at first, but for some greate worke he had further for him to doe or to suffer in this cause, and bad her be thankefull for the mercy by which they had so long in peace enioy'd one another, since this eminent change, and bad her trust God with him; whose faith and chearefullnesse were so encouraging that it a little upheld her; but alas! her devining heart was not to be comforted: she remembred what had been told her of the cruell resolutions taken against him, and saw now the execution of them.

On Friday, Nov. the 6th, he was sent for by Secretary Bennett, to his lodgings at Whitehall, which was the first time he was examin'd, and the questions he asked him were: — 1st. "Where he had liv'd this four or five months?" To which he answer'd, "Constantly at home, at his own house in Nottinghamshire." 2d. "What company used to resort to his house?" He told him, "None, not so much as his nearest relations, who scarce ever saw him." 3d. "What company he frequented?" He told him, "None, and that he never stirr'd out of his owne house to visitt any." Bennett sayd, "That was very much." 4th. "Whither he knew Mr. Henry Nevill?" He answer'd, "Very well." 5th. "When he saw him?" He sayd, "To his best remembrance never since the king

"came in." 6th. "When he writt to him?"
 He sayd, "Never in his life." 7th. "When
 "Mr. Nevill writt to him?" He sayd, "Never."
 8th. "Whither any messages had past between
 "them?" He sayd, "None at all." 9th.
 "Whither none had moov'd aniething to him
 "concerning a republique?" He sayd, "He
 "knew none so indiscreet." 10th. "What
 "children he had?" He sayd, "Foure sonnes
 "and foure daughters." 11th. "How old his
 "sonnes were? He sayd, "Two were at men's
 "estate, and two little children." 12th.
 "Whither his sonnes had not done aniething to
 "iniure him?" He replied, "Never that he
 "knew of, and he was confident they had not."
 13th. "Where he went to church to heare devine
 "service, common prayer?" He sayd, "No
 "where, for he never stirr'd out of his owne
 "house." 14th. "Whither he heard it not
 "read there?" He answer'd, "To speake in-
 "genuously, No." 15th. "How he then did for
 "his soule's comfort?" He replied, "Sr. I
 "hope you leave me that to account betweene
 "God and my owne soule." Then Bennett
 told him his answers to these had cut him of of
 many questions he should have asked, and he
 might returne. So he was carried back to the
 Tower with only two of the warders which
 brought him thither.*

• What will the reader think of this examination when he

Not long after one Waters was brought prisoner out of Yorkshire, a fellow of a timorous spirit, who being taken, was in so greate a feare, that he accus'd many, guilty and not guilty, to save himselfe; caus'd his owne wife to be put in prison, and hang'd the dearest friend he had in the world; and brought his wives brother into the same danger; some say through feare, others that he was a trepanner from the begining, for he drew in all

is reminded, or, if he knew it not before, is informed, that this gentleman, who is so anxious for the welfare of Col. Hutchinson's soul, and so earnest for his frequenting the church, was himself a concealed papist, and privy to the King's being so too! It is necessary to be here observed, that upon the publication of the act of uniformity a very great number of the parochial clergy quitted their benefices, and were replaced by others. It is highly probable this would be the case at Owthorpe; and it was a very natural consequence of it that Col. Hutchinson should absent himself from his church: where, although he had heretofore taken much pains to get a good minister established and his salary augmented, he had now to expect, instead of spiritual comfort, such pulpit railings as he had been assailed with at Nottingham. Accordingly, he performed the worship of God in his own family, much as a Protestant father of a family would have done in a Catholic country. And the history informs us he was so occupied when the soldiers came to seize him: but it was prudent to say nothing of this to the *secretary confessor*!

Mr. Nevil, whom he speaks of, made a considerable figure in the latter times of the long parliament, as a staunch republican, a man of strict integrity, and a steady opposer of all the usurpations.

the people whom he accus'd. Whatever he were, he was so utter a stranger to Coll. Hutchinson, that he never saw his face; yett that day he was examin'd at Whitehall, Coll. Hutchinson was in greate haste fetcht away from his dinner at the Tower, and told he should be examin'd in the king's owne hearing; which he was very glad of, and, with greate haste and formallity and strictnesse he was carried by the deputy lieftenant and a strong guard by water from the Tower to Whitehall; and when he came to land at Whitehall stairs, one Andrews, an officer, with two files of musketeers, was ready to receave him, and led him to Bennett's lodgings, where he observ'd a greate deale of care to place the guard at the outward doore in the court, and to keepe the chamber doore continually shutt, that none might peepe in, but a few gentlemen who were admitted to come now and then and stare him in the face at the doore, but none were in the roome for a long space but Andrews and himselfe, till at the last his keeper thrust in. The collonell, having stay'd two howers, concluded that he should now be confronted by some accuser, or at least have an examination more tending to treasonable practices then his first seemed to doe, especially understanding that Mr. Waters had bene many howers before in the house, and was yett there. But at last, *parturiunt montes!* and out comes Secretary Bennett!

who taking him to a window apart from Mr. Andrews and the keeper, most formally begins thus :
 “ Mr. Hutchinson, you have now bene some
 “ dayes in prison, have you recollected yourselfe
 “ any more to say then when I last spoke to
 “ you ?” Mr. Hutchinson answer’d, “ He had
 “ nothing to recollect, nor more to say.” “ Are
 “ you sure of that ?” sayd the secretary. “ Very
 “ sure,” sayd Mr. Hutchinson. “ Then,” sayd
 Bennett, “ you must return to prison.” And
 accordingly he was carried by the same guard
 back againe to the Tower, where he was kept
 with a greate deale of strictnesse, and some weekes
 before his wife was admitted to see him ; for
 whom, at the last, Sr. Allen Apsley procur’d an
 order that she might visitt him, but they limited
 it that it must not be but in the presence of his
 keeper. The lieftenant, in hope of a fee, gave
 leave that her sonne and daughter might goe into
 the roome with her, who elce must have stood
 without doores ; but he would not permit her to
 take lodgings in the Tower, which, being in a
 sharpe winter season, put her to greate toyle and
 inconvenience, besides excessive charge of pro-
 viding his meate att the Tower, and her com-
 pany in another place : meanwhile he was kept
 close prisoner, and had no ayre allow’d him, but
 a payre of leads over his chamber, which were
 so high and cold he had no benefitt by them :
 and every night he had three doores shutt upon

him, and a centinell at the outmost. His chamber was a roome where 'tis sayd the two young princes, King Edward the Fifth and his brother were murthered in former dayes, and the roome that led to it was a darke greate roome, that had no windore in it, where the portcullis to one of the inward Tower gates was drawn up and lette downe, under which there sate every night a court of guard. There is a tradition, that in this roome the Duke of Clarence was drown'd in a but of malmsey; from which murther, this roome and that adioyning it where Mr. Hutchinson lay, was called the Bloody Tower. Betweene Mr. Hutchinson's chamber and the dark roome there was a doore, which Mr. Hutchinson desir'd the lieftenant might be left open in the night, because it left a little necessary-house open to the chamber, which he and his man had occasion of in the night, having gotten fluxes with their bad accommodations and diet: but the lieftenant would not allow it him, although, when that was open, there were two doores more shutt upon him, and he could not have any way attempted any escape, but he must, if it had bene possible to worke through the walls, have fallen upon a court of guard.

Notwithstanding all this strictnesse, which was exercised alsoe to most of the other prisoners, yet their owne centinells hated the lieftenant, and his Cerberus, Cressett, because they cheated them,

and had nothing of generosity or bounty to engage the hearts of their souldiers, who, seeing so much of their wickednesse, abhorr'd them, and pittied the poore gentlemen that were so barbarously used by them ; and whether out of humanity, or necessity, or villany, I know not, but they would offer the prisoners many curtesies, and convey letters betweene them. Mr. Hutchinson was never so imprudent to trust any of them with his, having within an hower of his imprisonment bene instructed by another prisoner a safer and more convenient way ; yet was it their interest to use courteously all those that offer'd themselves to doe them service. Among the rest, as he was one day sitting by the fire, the centinell at the doore peept in his head and call'd to him : " Sir," sayd he, " God blesse you ! I have sometimes guarded you in another manner at the parliament-house, and am griev'd to see the change of your condition, and only take this employment now, to be more able to serve you, still hoping to see you restor'd to what I have seene you." The collonell, not turning his head, told the man, that language suited not the coate he wore, bade him mind his present duty, and told him he had no employment of his service. " Well," sayd the souldier, " I perceive, Sir, you dare not trust me, but my Lady Vane and my Lady Lambert know me, and if you have any service to command me to them, I

“ will bring you a testimony from them.” The collonell tooke no more notice of him, but the fellow, officious, or hoping to gett mony, went to my Lady Lambert’s house, and told her that he had formerly bene her husband’s souldier, and that he wisht his restitution, and that he us’d sometimes to guard the prisoners, and would carry her letters to any of them, and that he had bene centinell lately at Collonell Hutchinson’s chamber, and would carry any thing she would send to him. She only bade him remember her service to him, and tell him she wisht him liberty; and the fellow flattering her with professing his love to her lord, she expresst some pleasure with his speeches, and gave him some mony; which her daughter considering, assoone as he was gone out told her that she had done unwarily to open herselfe so much to one of the souldiers in present employment, whom she did not know but he might be sett on purpose to trapan her. My lady, to prevent any inconvenience of her error, thought it the best way to goe immediately and complaine that one of the souldiers had come to her to trapan her, under coulour of a message from Coll. Hutchinson, which she had not entertain’d; and desir’d they might not be allow’d in anie such thing, protesting her owne loyalty and readinesse to discover any that were false to them. This was extreamely well represented of

her at the court, and as ill of Coll. Hutchinson, that he had not done the like; and Coll. Leg, whose companie it was that then had the guard of the Tower, was commanded to find out and punish this souldier, who, it proov'd after, was a good honest fellow, and was the only protestant in that companie, the rest being most of them Irish and papists, and some rebels. This poore fellow, having bene a parliament souldier, listed among them to get a living, but was very tender-hearted to the prisoners, and had a desire to do them kindnesse. Hereupon he came to the colonell's man and desired his master would not owne him, and that he would send to my Lady Lambert to doe the same, which the collonell did: but when she was sent to by him, she sent a maid to see all the souldiers, who own'd the man, and he was put in prison, and cashier'd and undone, for nothing but offering his service to have done the prisoners slight services; and Coll. Hutchinson was ill thought of att the court, because when Coll. Leg brought his men under the windore of his prison, and came up to Mr. Hutchinson and desir'd him to view them all; he would not accuse any of them, which if he had, he would not only have cutt of his owne, but all the other prisoners' wayes of sending to their friends abroad; yet he never made use of this fellow, nor any of them, in any businesse of trust, allthough he thought it not good to discourage any that ap-

pear'd to wish them well, among so many bloody murderers as they were given up to.

The collonell endured his prison patiently till the triall of those they call'd conspirators in Yorkshire was over; but when he had layne from November till Candlemasse terme in prison, he sent his wife to Secretary Bennét to desire that such persons as had businesse with him might have the liberty to come to him. She had before bene with some of the privie counsell who were her husband's friends and allies, to complain of his uniust imprisonment, and his harsh usage there, contrary to all law, from the beginning to the ending, even their owne lawes, and they had told her that they were sensible of it, but that they only stood for ciphers, while the chancellor and Bennett manag'd all things without their privity, in most oppressive and illegal wayes.* She, as she was advis'd, went there-

• It was thought better to bring together here several observations relating to Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and chancellor: Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and secretary; and Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. The first is well known, from his history and letters, to have been an unreasonable enemy to Presbytery and Presbyterians: which prejudice induced him to persuade his royal master, whose confidence for a great length of time he almost entirely engrossed, to violate all his promises to them, though gratitude as well as honour should have made him keep them. About this time his credit began to diminish by the introduction of Bennet to be secretary of state, instead of Nicholas, who was the particular friend of

fore to Bennett and told him that, by reason of some engagements for money her husband

Hyde. But at the period here spoken of this had taken effect but partially, and not enough to furnish for those who were oppressed by the one a succour in the opposition of the other; nor does there appear much reason to hope for moderation in either. Who it was of the privy council that gave Mrs. Hutchinson her information cannot be conjectured; but there is no doubt that the too great ascendancy of the chancellor did, no long time after, cause him to be impeached in parliament, and accused of all the misconduct of many years. It was in vain that he endeavoured, in the written defence he sent to the parliament, to distribute the odium among the council in general: the information here given to Mrs. Hutchinson obtained general belief; he was condemned, and died in banishment. He very justly, in the same writing, attributes a good deal of the hatred and bitterness which prevailed against him to his many refusals of setting the seal to pardons and other indulgencies. When, among the speakers against him, we see the names of Maynard, St. John, Hampden, and Prynne *, we may well conclude that these men, though they had a little temporized, were glad to assist in the downfall of the man who had persecuted the more zealous of their former associates, and pleased to see him sue for that clemency which his own former severity gave him good reason to despair of. — Bennet was several years after impeached, together with Buckingham, the same who first entrapped and caused Col. Hutchinson to be seized, and whose infamous letter the Marquis of Newcastle showed the colonel. On this occasion Buckingham employed his usual treachery, and criminated the earl, who was fain to save himself from the indignation of the parliament by a total change of conduct; by practising the hypocrisy he had recommend-

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 648.

had upon his estate, this very close imprisonment had bene infinitely preiudiciall to

ed to Col. Hutchinson of frequenting the communion of a church he was averse to, and persecuting the Papists, whom he had protected, and wished to protect. On account of his conduct a strict inquiry was made by the commons concerning the commitment of persons by order of council, and amendments were made in the Habeas Corpus act ; which, if they had existed in the colonel's time, would have preserved him from his long and unjust imprisonment. — Buckingham, after bringing the family of Fairfax to extinction by marrying and slighting his daughter, heightening and exposing his master's vices, and passing his whole life in playing, by countless alternations, the parts of traitor and sycophant, died in disgrace and beggary ; and, to sum all up in that which to him would be the greatest suffering, his memory remains hung up to ridicule in the chains of never-dying satire by Pope, in some of the best lines he has written.

To those who believe in the peculiar interposition of God in human affairs, as our author did, it must be very striking, and to her, if she lived to witness it, highly gratifying, to observe this course of events. Mr. Hutchinson's three great enemies, Buckingham, Clarendon, and Arlington, ruin each other ; and two of them, Clarendon and Arlington, without the design of doing any thing so good, laid the foundations of an alliance which furnished the assertors of British liberty and toleration with a champion who overthrew (it is hoped never to rise again) despotism in church and state : for Clarendon obtained of Charles the Second to constrain his brother to marry his daughter, whom he had dishonoured : she brought him the Princesses Mary and Anne, successively queens of England ; and Bennet, Earl of Arlington, to gain himself popularity in a moment of need, first proposed the match between Mary and the Prince of Orange, afterwards William the Third !

him, both his tenants and his creditors taking advantages of his incapacitie, by reason of his close restraint, to defend himselfe, or to speake with lawyers or others about affaires that neerely concern'd his estate, besides the neglect of all his businesse, and the intollerable charge and inconvenience of his disorder'd famely, disperst into three severall places, which would suddenly bring ruine upon his whole famely, besides the destruction of his health. Bennett told her, her husband was a very unfortunate person in regard of his former crimes. She told him, she had rather hoped he had bene happie in being compriz'd in the act of oblivion, which allow'd him not to be remember'd as a criminall, and that she had chosen to make her addresses to him, in this occasion, because some of the councell had told her the king left all the management of these things to him. He was very urgent with her to know who it was that inform'd her that he was the sole actor in these businesses; but she desir'd to be excus'd for naming any author in that thing, which she had not mention'd but that she thought it his honor to owne: but he told her, he would not move for any more liberty for her husband then he had, unlesse he could be secur'd it might be done with more safety so his maiesty then he could apprehend it. "But," sayd he, "Mrs. Hutchinson, I have some papers of yours which I would shew, not to examine

“you, but to see whether you will informe me
 “aniething of them.” She told him she had
 curiosity enough to see aniething that past under
 her name; whereupon he call’d forth his man,
 who brought out a greate bundle of papers,
 call’d examinations, taken at Grantham, of pas-
 sages betweene Mrs. Hutchinson and Mrs. Vane.
 First he shew’d her a character which contain’d
 ciphers for the names of many gentlemen and
 weomen who were not very distant neighbours,
 with others whom she knew not at all. She told
 him she understood nothing att all of that paper;
 then he turn’d downe the rest, and shew’d her a
 letter, beginning, “My deare Amaranta;”
 which she told him she knew not att all. “But,”
 sayd he, “you will yet owne your owne hand;”
 and shew’d her among these papers the copie of
 the letter that was sent to the house of parlia-
 ment in her husband’s name, written in her hand,
 which when she saw she was a little confounded,
 wondering how it should come into his hands;
 but she told him that she could not absolutely
 say that was her writing, though it had some re-
 semblance; and so when she had againe urg’d
 the businesse she came for, and could obtaine
 nothing from him, she went away, and left in the
 roome with the secretary Sr. Robert Biron, a
 cousin-german of her husband’s, who was by
 chance come in thither upon some businesse of
 his owne, and had stood by while she urg’d to the

secretary the mischief and ruine her husband's imprisonment brought upon his family and estate. Assoone as she was gone the secretary told Sr. Robert that he had heard Mrs. Hutchinson relate the sad condition of her husband and his house ; " and," sayd he " you may hear take notice how " the iustice of God pursues those murtherers, " that, though the king pardon'd both his life " and estate, by the hand of the devine iustice " they were now like to come to ruine for that " crime : " which words being told Mr. Hutchinson, he laught much at the simple folly of the man, that could call his owne illegall persecutions and oppressions of innocence the iudgements of God. The papers which he shew'd Mrs. Hutchinson she after learnt to have been some letters betweene Mrs. Vane, one of Sr. Henry Vane's daughters, and one Mrs. Hutchinson, a gentlewoman that us'd to come thither, fill'd with such frivolous intelligence of private amours and intrigues as young people use to communicate to their confidants, and such as any wise statesman would have believ'd himselfe affronted to have had brought to him, and not made such pollitick enquiries, and imprison'd those with whom they were found, about so unconcerning a matter.

Mr. Henry Nevill and Mr. Salloway had bene put into the Tower about the same suspicion they had of Mr. Hutchinson, a north-

erne plott, for which there was a peculiar assizes, and some men were executed; and the iudges, at their returne, sayd that their confessions allmost amounted to treason; but that allmost serv'd their turnes. Assoone as those assizes were past, Mr. Hutchinson sent to Mr. Nevill and Mr. Salloway that he thought it now time for them to endeavour their liberty, and therefore desir'd to know what course they intended to proceed in, that they might all take one way. They both sent Mr. Hutchinson word that they look'd upon him as the best befriended, and they were resolv'd to see first what successe he had, and to make him their leading card. Hereupon he, fearfull to doe anie thing that they could not, sate still deliberating, while they, without giving him the least notice, wrought their owne liberties secretly, Mr. Nevill desiring to travell, and Mr. Salloway making such a false, flattering petition, that no honest man could make such another, and a lesse after his would have but more exasperated. It tooke so, that immediately he had his liberty, both of them taking some oathes to confirme their loyalty, which were given them by the clearke of the Tower.* They had a mind

* Mr. Nevil, as just before mentioned, had acted with steadiness and integrity; Mr. Salloway had been more variable, and was successively of the council of state, of the rump parliament, of the committee of safety, and council of officers.

at court Mr. Hutchinson should have made such another petition, and therefore Salloway's was shew'd to a friend of his; the words of which were, "That since God by his miraculous providence had set his majestie over us, he had acquiesc'd thankfully under it, and never, not so much as in thought, made a wish against it;" and promises of the like nature: which perhaps were no truer than the professions, for they were utterly false; for at his first coming into the Tower no man had mutter'd more then he, who scarce refrain'd even blasphemies against God himselfe for bringing him into bondage. After his release he went to their common prayer, and pleas'd them so well that 'twas sayd they would give him an office. But when they found that, notwithstanding their hint, Mr. Hutchinson would not follow his example, their mallice grew very bitter against him at the court, insomuch that a gentleman having treated with Mrs. Hutchinson for a neice of his, to whom he was guardian, that would have bene a convenient fortune for her sonne, the chancellor sent for the gentleman and peremptorily forbade him to proceed in the affaire*, and openly sayd, "*he must keepe their famely downe.*"

* What base and atrocious malice! yet this was the virtuous Lord Clarendon! This method of alternately persecuting those whom they suspect, and suspecting those they persecute, has for ever been the practice of bad ministers,

Mr. Hutchinson was not at all dismay'd, but wonderfully pleas'd with all these things, and told his wife this captivity was the happiest release in the world to him; for before, although he had made no express engagement, yet, in regard his life and estate had bene freely left him, when they tooke away others, he thought himselfe oblig'd to sitt still all the while this king reign'd, whatever oportunity he might have; but now he thought this usage had utterly disoblig'd him from all ties either of honour or conscience, and that he was free to act as prudence should hereafter lead him, and that he thought not his liberty out of prison worth the purchase by any future engagement, which would againe fetter him in obligations to such persons as every day more and more manifested themselves enemies to all iust and godly interests. He therefore charg'd his wife that she should not make applications to any person whatsoever, and made it his earnest request to Sr. Allen Apsley to let him stand and fall to his owne innocency, and to undertake nothing for him, which, if he did, he told him he would disowne. Mrs. Hutchinson, remembering how much she had displeased him in saving him before, submitted now to suffer with

and has for ever created rebels, and will for ever continue to create new ones in the place of those they destroy.

him, according to his own will*, who, as he would do nothing that might entangle him for his freedom, so he patiently suffer'd their unjust bondage, and had no guilt found in him; yet was cruelly and maliciously persecuted and hated, and criminalls, with threats and promises, were tried all wayes to see if they could have brought out any accusation against him, but all they could arrive to was only that he was an unchang'd person, yet they kept him still as close prisoner as at the first. After Salloway was releas'd, Sr. Allen Apsley asking the chancellor why his brother was not as well let out as Salloway; "What!" sayd the chancellor; "make you no difference betweene your brother and Salloway?" Sr. Allen replied, he thought his brother as innocent. "Surely," sayd the chancellor, "there is a greate difference: Salloway conforms to the government, and goes to church, but your brother is the most unchang'd person of the party."

The collonell at last with some other prisoners were deliberating to sue out a Habeas

* There does not appear reason for supposing that Col. Hutchinson had any distinct prospect of manifesting his sentiments with effect, nor can these declarations be accounted for upon any principle but that of general disdain. The complete and generous attachment of Mrs. Hutchinson deserves a higher term: if our language would admit of it, as the French does *dévouement*, we should call it *devotion*.

Corpus, and in order thereunto sent to the lieftenant of the Tower to desire a copie of the warrant whereby he stood committed, which indeed was so unperfect, that he could not legally be kept upon that, for there was neither his Christen name nor any place of residence mention'd in it, so that any other Hutchinson might have as well bene kept upon it as he; but the lieftenant refus'd to give him a copie, and his iaylor told the prisoner it was alter'd after they had kept him four or five months in prison: then the collonell writ to Bennett, but neither could he obtaine any copie of his commitment from him.

After this a friend gave him notice that they had a designe to transport him to some island or plantation; whereupon he writt a narrative of his imprisonment, and procur'd it to be secretly printed, to have left behind him, if he had bene sent away, to acquaint the parliament, which was then shortly to assemble, and to leave with his friends; but he kept them in the mean time privately.*

* At the time of Col. Hutchinson's imprisonment, the parliament were so devoted to the views of the court that they might very likely have taken little notice of his representations. Many years elapsed before they animadverted as they ought upon such arbitrary and unjust proceedings. Probably the time will never arrive when parliaments will become sensible of the solecism of making good laws, and then dispensing with the execution of them. The fact is,

At length, through the lies that the lieutenant of the Tower made of his prisoners, and the malice of their wicked persecutors, who envied even the bread which charity sent in to feed some of the men whose estates were wholly taken away, warrants were signed for carrying away most of the prisoners, some to Tangier, and to other barbarous and distant places: among the rest, Coll. Hutchinson was design'd to the Isle of Man, which Sr. Allen Apsley hearing of, told the king he had some private businesse of trusts with the collonell concerning his owne estate, for which he obtain'd that he might be respited three months, and have liberty for lawyers to come to him. But when the collonell heard of it, he was more displeas'd with this petty favour then with all their rigour, and resolv'd to have done something to reverse it, but that his wife perswaded him to rest till she made a short voyage into the country to fetch him supplies, which he did.

Assoone as she was gone, the lieutenant of the Tower sent his iaylor, Mr. Edward Cresset, early in the morning, upon the 16th day of April 1664, to fetch Mr. Hutchinson to his lodgings, whither being come, Cresset withdrew, and the lieutenant told Mr. Hutchinson that he had bene civill to him in permitting his children to come to him with

that governors and makers of laws seldom feel the effects of them in their own persons: to the governed, any variable-ness destroys the benefit of all law,

their mother, and yet he had not payd him his fees and dues, although that warrant which allow'd the access of his wife did not mention his children, and therefore he now demanded his dues. Mr. Hutchinson told him, " At his departure out of the Tower he should not be behind hand with him for the civillity of suffering his children to come to him." Robinson replied, " That signified nothing, he expected his dues, and would have them." Mr. Hutchinson answer'd, " His was not every prisoner's condition, for he had bene now 24 weekes kept close prisoner, and yett never knew accuser nor accusation against him, and therefore he should desire to consider before he parted from his mony ; but for any civillities he should repay them." Robinson sayd, " He medled with no man's crimes, but whither guilty or not guilty, he expected his dues, which he could recover by law if they were refus'd." Mr. Hutchinson asking, " What they were?" He sayd, " Fifty pounds." Further demanding, " By what law they were due, soe as he could recover them?" Robinson answer'd, " By custome." Mr. Hutchinson told him, " He was confident that pretence would not recover them; and if he thought it would, he would goe to a civill and faire triall with him the next terme; yett due or not due, what civillities he either had or should af-

“ford him, he would recompence at parting.”
 Robinson answer’d, “He stood upon his
 “right, and he would make Mr. Hutchinson,
 “or somebody elce, pay it.” Mr. Hutch-
 inson told him, “He knew not who he
 “meant by somebody elce, but if his liberty
 “were taken from him without any reason that
 “he knew, he would not soe part with his mony,
 “if he could help it.” He then, in anger, sayd,
 “He would lock him up close, and let nobody
 “come att him.” Mr. Hutchinson told him,
 “He could be lock’d no closer then he had bene
 “all this time, and he hoped he would not for-
 “bid those comming to him who had warrant
 “from the secretary; for the rest he might use
 “his pleasure.” He, in fury, commanded to
 take away Mr. Hutchinson, and lock him up that
 no person might come at him; and gave order
 at the Tower gates to keepe out his children and
 all his relations that should come to enquire for
 him; and he sent word to Serieant Fountaine
 who had an order to come in, that he should not
 be admitted, although his business was of greate
 concernment to others, and not to Coll. Hutch-
 inson, who being a trustee for some of his
 relations, was to have made some settlements
 in their affaires; which could not be done, but
 they, to their preiudice, were forc’d to go
 without it.* Although his commands were

* The same respectable Friend who, proceeding upon an

executed to the full, yet Mr. Hutchinson's eldest sonne found meanes to steale into the Tower, and to informe his father of a malicious lie that the lieftenant had made of him at court, that day that he fell out with him; which was this. — Robinson told the king, that when Mr. Henningham and others were carried out of

intimation contained in the Annual Review, communicated to the Editor the particulars of the deliverance of George Fox, given in p. 341. vol. i. has, upon a similar intimation, pointed out several passages in the life of William Penn, demonstrating the officious readiness of this same Sir John Robinson to act as the minister of oppression and persecution. He first sends a sergeant from the tower to watch Penn; the sergeant finds him preaching to *Friends*, seizes him, and drags him away to the Tower, and sends to Whitehall for Robinson — Robinson comes, sits as magistrate, over-rules the just and legal objections of Penn, and commits him to gaol. Penn, whilst in prison, writes a very sensible and moderate letter to Bennet, Earl of Arlington, complaining of coarse treatment in prison, although the secretary had pretended to give orders for his decent accommodation. At the trial of Penn, Sir John Robinson sits as assessor to the Recorder, and at the same time obtrudes himself upon the court as an evidence, interferes to influence the jury against the prisoner, and abuses the foreman because he will not suffer himself to be browbeaten nor biassed. At last, when a verdict could not be obtained conformable to the views of the judges, they fine the jury for that which they have given, and Penn for contempt of the court. To enumerate, from the "*Histories of the Sufferings of the Quakers*," the instances of his oppression and cruelty, would fill a volume. Suffice it to hold him up here to infamy as lasting as the fame of those two virtuous men, in the hope of deterring other ministers of injustice from doing the like.

the Tower to be shipt away, Mr. Hutchinson looking out of his windore bade them take courage, they should yet have a day for it. This he comming to Mr. Hutchinson's knowledge the 19th of April, moov'd him more then all his other base usage; whereupon he writt a letter to Robinson to tell him he should have had a care of provoking his prisoners to speake, who had so much expos'd himselfe to every one of them; and to let him know what he himselfe had observ'd and could proove, he drew it up into certeine heads, which he told him, if he continued his vile usage of him, he would publish. The articles were:

1st. That Robinson had affirm'd that the king gave no allowance to his prisoners, not so much as to those who had all their estates taken from them: and accordingly he gave them none, but converted what the king allowed to his owne use, and threat'ned some of the prisoners with death if they offer'd to demand it; and suffer'd others, at twelve of the clock in the night, to make such a miserable outcrie for bread, that it was heard into some parts of the city, and one was absolutely starv'd to death for want of reliefe; although the king at that time told a prisoner, that he tooke more care for the prisoners then for his owne table.

2d. That he sett downe to the king seven pounds a weeke for one prisoner, for whom he

never lay'd out above 27 or 30 shillings a weeke at the most.

3d. That he not only kept back the prisoner's allowances, but exacted of them excessive rents for bare prison lodgings, and empty warders houses unfurnisht; and if they have not punctually pay'd him, hath stifled them up by close imprisonment, without any order, although he knew they had not a penny to buy bread, but what came from the charity of good people.

4th. That he receiv'd sallary of the king for forty warders, and had not neere so many, but fill'd up the list with false names, and tooke the pay to himselfe.

5th. That when he had receiv'd money for those warders he kept, he had detein'd it many months to his owne use, while the poore men were thereby in miserable wants.

6th. That he sold the warders places, and lett them houses at a deare rate, and yet tooke the most considerable prisoners, which ought to have bene committed to them, into his owne house, and made them pay him excessive rates for bed-rooms, and sett his man Cressett over them, making them pay him for attendance, what the warders should have had.

7. That he made many false musters in his owne company belonging to the Tower, and though he had receiv'd the souldier's mony, was runne in arrears to them five or six pounds a

man; at which they cruelly murmur'd, because by this meanes their maintenance was streightned, and their duty brought more frequent upon them.

8th. That notwithstanding all his defrauding, oppressive, and exacting wayes of raysing mony, he had ungratefully complain'd of the king's scanty recompence of his service.

9th. That after the sterving of the poore prisoners and their miserable outcrie, when shame forc'd him to allow about a dozen poore tradesmen ten shilling a pièce *, though at that time he receiv'd forty of the king for each of them, he and his man Cressett denied the king's allowance, and sayd it was his owne charity.

10th. That he was frequently drunk, out of the Tower till twelve, one, and two of the clock, and threatned one of the warders, who came one night to fetch him home, with Newgate, and spited him ever after.

All these things being notoriously true, this letter put him into a greate rage, and no lesse dread that the collonell, as he had threatned him, would publish it; whereupon assoone as these things were lay'd to his charge, within ten dayes he pay'd his souldiers 15 months' pay

* It hence appears that many more in number, and persons of a different description from what other accounts mention, were made prisoners of state at this time.

of 22 due to them when the letter was written. He having all that while kept back eighteene pence a weeke out of every souldier's pay, and the souldiers understanding that Coll. Hutchinson's observations of his frawd had procur'd them this satisfaction, us'd to give him thanks when they came to stand centinells at his doore.

Presently after he receiv'd the letter, he went to Sr. Allen Apsley and complain'd to him that the collonell had sent him a vile letter, but did not shew it Sr. Allen, as he sent word to the collonell he would; whereupon Sr. Allen Apsley sent Mr. George Hutchinson with a letter to Sr. John Robinson, to tell him that if he would let him goe to his brother, he doubted not but he would be a good meanes to perswade the collonell to pay him fees, and to reconcile differences between them. Sr. John, upon the 21st of April, went allong with Mr. George Hutchinson to his brother, and at his entrance, in a passion began to quarrell at the collonell's sower lookes; who told him, if he had known they would not have pleas'd him, and had had notice of his comming, he would have sett them in a glasse for him. Then Robinson told him, in a rage, he had written him a libell. Mr. Hutchinson answer'd it was no libell, for he had sett his name to it, and it was truths, which if he put him to, he could proove by sufficient testimonies. Whereupon he fell into horrible rayling and

cruell language, but by Mr. George Hutchinson's interposition at length all was pacified, and he was fairely going out of the roome with Mr. George Hutchinson, when his man Cressett minding him that the collonell had a fowle copie of his letter, and had sayd he would send it Sr. Allen, who had desir'd to see it; Robinson resolv'd to take that draught away from him; but the collonell foreseeing that, had sent copies of it long before out of the Tower, which Robinson's dull head not dreaming of came back and insolently commanded the collonell to give him the first draught of the letter. The collonell desir'd to be excus'd, whereupon Robinson sayd he would have his pocketts searcht, and accordingly bad Cressett feele in them. He, a little moov'd, tooke a bottle in his hand, and bad Cressett forbear if he lov'd his head, and told Sr. John if he had any warrant to search him from the king or councell he would submitt to it, but otherwise he would not suffer it, especially for a paper which was only of private concernment betweene them; for all this, when Sr. John saw that Cresset durst not approach the collonell, he commanded one Wale, a warder, to search his pocketts, who comming with entreaties to the collonell to permitt it, he suffer'd him; and then the lieutenant caus'd a little dressing box which the collonell had to be open'd, and tooke away all the papers he found in it, among which there was

one wherein the collonell had written a verse out of the 43d psalme, it was the first verse, to be ioin'd with a narrative of his imprisonment, that he had provided to leave behind him for the satisfaction of his friends. This paper Robinson carried to court, and sayd, that by the deceitfull and uniust man the collonell intended the king, although the application was of his owne making. In the meane time, while they were ransacking his box and pocketts, Robinson fell a rayling att the collonell, giving him the base termes of Rebell and Murtherer, and such language as none could have learnt, but such as had bene conversant among the civill society of Pickt-hatch, Turnbull-streete, and Billings-gate, neere which last place the heroe had his education.* When the collonell patiently told him he

* In a former note we remarked that the evils of imprisonment were considerably enhanced by the custody of prisons, and peculiarly prisons of state being committed to persons of low education and sordid mind; it is here strongly exemplified, and doubly painful must it have been to Mrs. Hutchinson to witness the unworthy treatment her husband now received, and to compare it with that which the persons confined in this same place had experienced from her father, a man of a liberal and noble mind. Considering the prejudice which reigns against prisons and prisoners, and therefore how few visit them, and how few prisoners dare make observations or remonstrances, it is to be feared many abuses pass unknown and uncorrected; it is but once, in ages, that there appears a Howard! These considerations ought to render the guardians of the public welfare extremely tender of the liberty of individuals; but if such things as state prisons be

transgress the act of oblivion ; he sayd he knew that well enough, and bad him sue out his remedie ; then in fury and rage turn'd out the collonell's servant out of his chamber, who had bene lockt up with him all the time of his imprisonment, and left him altogether unattended, which having never bene before in his whole life, put him into a cold and a flux, with a feaverish distemper : but the greatnesse of his mind was not broken by the feebleness of his constitution, nor the barbarous inhumanity of his iaylors, which he receiv'd with disdaine and laught at them, but lost not anger on them.

After these things, Mrs. Hutchinson comming out of the country was, by the lieftenant's order, denied to see her husband, but at her lodgings found letters from him convey'd to her every day, spite of all his guards ; and thereupon she writt to Robinson to desire to know whither the secretary had countermanded her first order to see her husband, or whither he denied obedience to it : whereupon Robinson sent to her to come to him the next day, but when she came he was gone forth, and she was not admitted within the gates, and thereupon she went back to her lodgings and writt him a smart letter, and sent him

at all necessary, then careful to provide for their being superintended by gentlemen, and men of liberal and benevolent minds.

with it a copie of her husband's letter, which she told him she would publish, and not suffer him to be murther'd to extort undue mony from him. The next day, being the Lord's day, he sent one of the warders to entreate her to come to her husband, and the bloodhound Cressett met her at the gate, and led her to her husband, and left her all the day alone with him, which they had never before done all the time of his prison; and in the evening Sr. John Robinson sent for her, and partly expostulated with her and partly flatter'd, and told her her husband had bene sent to the Isle of Man*, but that he in kindnesse had procur'd a better place for him, and that he was not covetous, but since her husband would not pay him fees, he might use his pleasure, and she and his children and relations might freely goe to him. She receiv'd this as befitted her, being in his hands, and knowing, that not good nature, but feare she would have printed him, moov'd him to this gentler course,- as she understood, both by the enquiries his servants

* An exile, for the second time, to the Isle of Man is mentioned. Had the collonell, or his friends, been properly informed, they would not have wished to exchange it for the flat coast of Kent. In our times, when it has become the retreat of the gay and imprudent, it must seem strange to hear it spoken of as a spot to be dreaded. Had he been sent there he would very likely have lived to see the downfall of his enemies, and have returned to shine in the autumn of life as an evening sun, when his virtues would have been recognized and revered.

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made of the collonell's warder concerning her intentions, and by Robinson's continuing, notwithstanding all this dissimulation, to make a thousand false insinuations of the collonell every where, and to do him all ill offices at court; if there were not a more abominable wickednesse then all this, a lingering poyson given him, which though wee had not wickednesse enough to suspect then, the events that have since ensued make a little doubtfull. It is certaine that Cressett did make that attempt upon Sr. Henry Vane and others, and two or three dayes before the collonell was sent away, brought into his chamber, when he came to lock him up at night, a bottle of excellent wine, under pretence of kindness, which he, the collonell, and the warder drunke together, and the warder and the collonell both died within foure months: the collonell presently after falling sick, but very unsuspecting, and we must leave it to the greate day, when all crimes, how secret soever, will be made manifest, whither they added poison to all the other iniquity whereby they certainly murther'd this guiltlesse servant of God.

A few dayes after, at nine of the clock att night, after his wife was gone from him, Cressett brought the collonell a warrant, to tell him that he must, the next morning tide, goe downe to Sandown Castle, in Kent; which he was not surpris'd at, it being the barbarous custome of that place to send away the prisoners, when

they had no knowledge, nor time to accommodate themselves for their iourney ; but instead of putting him into a boate at the morning tide, about eight of the clock Sr. Henry Wroth came with a party of horse to receive him of the lieftenant, and finding him sick, and not well able to endure riding in the heate of the day, was so civill to let him goe by water in the evening tide to Gravesend, with a guard of souldiers in boates hired at his owne charge, where the horse guard mett him. By these meanes he got oportunity to take leave of his children that werè in towne, and about four of the clock was sent out of the Tower, with one Gregory, design'd to be his fellow prisoner ; who going over the drawbridge, turn'd back to the lieftenant and told him he would have accepted it as a greater mercy if the king had commanded him to be shott to death there, rather then to send him to a distant place to be sterv'd, he having nothing but his trade to maintaine him, and his friends, from whom he should now be so farre remov'd that he could expect nothing.* The lieftenant in scorne told him, he went with a charitable man that would not suffer him to sterve, whereby he exposed the mallice of their intentions to the collonell ; who thought it not enough to send him to a farre prison not much differing from exile, but to charge him

* This Gregory seems to have been a low man, but had probably commanded a company in some of the city regiments during the latter times of the parliament.

with a companion, which however his kindnesse might have render'd him charitable to, yet they ought not to have putt upon him, neither would the collonell take notice of their imposition, though he design'd kindnesse to the man, had he bene worthy of it.

The collonell's wife and children gott a boate and followed him to Gravesend, whither alsoe Gregorie's wife, and one that call'd him brother, went, and that night all the company and all the guards supt at the collonell's charge, and many of the guards lay in the chamber with him, who, with the refreshment of the evening ayre, and the content he tooke to be out of Robinson's claws, found himselfe, or through the livenesse of his spiritt fancied himselfe, something better then he was in the Tower. The next morning, very early, his guards hurried him away on horseback; but, to speake truth, they were civill to him. His sonne went allong with him to see the place he was sent to, and Sr. Allen Apsley had procur'd an order for his servant to continue with him in the prison; his wife went back to London, to stay there to provide him such accommodation as she should heare he had need of.

When he came to the castle, he found it a lamentable old ruin'd place, allmost a mile distant from the towne, the roomes all out of re-paire, not weather-free, no kind of accommodation either for lodging or diet, or any convenience of life. Before he came, there were not

above halfe a dozen souldiers in it, and a poore lieftenant with his wife and children, and two or three cannoneers, and a few guns allmost dismounted, upon rotten carriages; but at the collonell's comming thither, a company of foote more were sent from Dover to helpe guard the place, pittifull weake fellows, halfe sterv'd and eaten up with vermin, whom the governor of Dover cheated of halfe their pay, and the other halfe they spent in drinke. These had no beds, but a nasty court of guard, where a sutler liv'd, within a partition made of boards, with his wife and famely, and this was all the accommodation the collonell had for his victualls, which was bought at a deare rate at the towne, and most horribly drest at the sutler's. For beds he was forc'd to send to an inne in the towne, and at a most unconscionable rate hire three, for himselfe and his man and Captaine Gregorie, and to get his chamber glaz'd, which was a thorowfare roome, that had five doores in it, and one of them open'd upon a platforme, that had nothing but the bleake ayre of the sea, which every tide washt the foote of the castle walls; which ayre made the chamber so unwholesome and damp, that even in the summer time the collonell's hat-case and trunks, and every thing of leather, would be every day all cover'd over with mould, wipe them as cleane as you could one morning, by the next they would mouldie againe; and though the walls were foure

yards thick, yet it rain'd in through cracks in them, and then one might sweepe a peck of salt-peter of of them every day, which stood in a perpetuall sweate upon them. Notwithstanding all this, the collonell was very cheerfull, and made the best shifts he could, with things as he found them, when the lieftenant's wife, seeing his stomach could not well beare his food, offer'd to bord him, and so he and his man dieted with her for twenty shillings a weeke, he finding wine besides, and linnen, &c. Whilst the sutler provided his meate, Gregory eate with him; but when he tabled with the captaine, Gregorie's sonne comming to him, he had his meate from the towne, and soone after a woman came downe who left not the man destitute and comfortlesse. The worst part of the collonell's sufferings in this prison, was the company of this fellow, who, being a fellow prisoner, and poore, and the collonell having no particular retreate, he could not wholly decline his company, and he being a carnall person, without any feare of God, or any good, but rather scandalous conversation, he could take no pleasure in him; meane while many of his friends gave caution to his wife concerning him, as suspecting him a trapaner, which we had after some cause to feare.

The captaine of the castle, one Freeman, had all this while a chamber which was a little warmer, and had a bed in it, but this he reserv'd, intending to sett a rate upon it, and this too was

so darke one could not have read by the fire or the bedside without a candle at noon day.

When the collonell's wife understood her husband's bad accommodation, she made all the means she could by her friends to procure liberty that she might be in the castle with him, but that was absolutely denied; whereupon she and her sonne and daughter went to Deale, and there tooke lodgings, from whence they walk'd every day on foote to dinner and back againe at night, with horrible toyle and inconvenience, and procur'd the captaine's wife to diet them with the collonell, where they had meate good enough, but through the poverty of the people, and their wants of all necessaries, and the faculty to order things as they should be, it was very inconvenient to them, yet the collonell endur'd it so chearefully that he was never more pleasant and contented in his whole life. When no other recreations were left him, he diverted himselfe with sorting and shadding cockle shells which his wife and daughter gather'd for him, with as much delight as he us'd to take in the richest agathes and onixes he could compasse with the most artificiall engravings, which were things, when he recreated himselfe from more serious studies, he as much delighted in as any piece of art. But his fancy shew'd itselfe so excellent in sorting and dressing these shells, that none of us could imitate it, and the cockles began to be admir'd by severall persons that saw

them. These were but his trifling diversions, his businesse and continuall study was the Scripture, which the more he conversed in, the more it delighted him; insomuch that his wife having brought downe some bookes to entertaine him in his solitude, he thank'd her, and told her that if he should continue as long as he liv'd in prison, he would reade nothing there but his Bible. His wife bore all her owne toyles ioyfully enough for the love of him, but could not but be very sad at the sight of his undeserved sufferings; and he would very sweetely and kindly chide her for it, and tell her that if she were but chearefull, he should think this suffering the happiest thing that ever befell him; he would alsoe bid her consider what reason she had to reioyce that the Lord supported him, and how much more intollerable it would have bene, if the Lord had suffer'd his spirit to have sunke, or his patience to have bene lost under this. One day when she was weeping after he had said many things to comfort her, he gave her reasons why she should hope and be assur'd that this cause would revive, because the interest of God was so much involv'd in it that he was entitled to it.* She told him she did not

* The notion of the revival of The Cause, and of the advancement of it by their sufferings, seems to have been very prevalent with those who fell in these times; accordingly they supported their fate with the true spirit of martyrs. The speech of Col. Okey at the time of his execution, preserved in the Trials of the Regicides, maintains the style of prophe-

doubt but the cause would revive, but, sayd she, notwithstanding all your resolution, I know this will conquer the weaknesse of your constitution, and you will die in prison. He replied, I think I shall not, but if I doe, my blood will be so innocent, I shall advance the cause more by my death, hasting the vengeance of God upon my unjust enemies, then I could doe by all the actions of my life. Another time, when she was telling him, she fear'd they had plac'd him on the seashore, but in order to transport him to Tangier, he told her, if they should, God was the same God at Tangier as at Owthorpe; prithée, sayd he, trust God with me, if he carrie me away, he will bring me back againe.

Sometimes when he would not be perswaded to doe things wherein he had a liberty, for feare

tic eloquence with so much dignity and firmness, as almost to captivate the imagination of the coolest reasoner. These sentences following are extracted from it.

“ And truly, as to the Cause, I am as confident, even as
 “ I am of my resurrection, that that cause which we first
 “ took up the sword for, which was for righteousness and
 “ justice, and for the advancement of a godly magistracy and
 “ a good ministry, (however some men turn about for their
 “ own ends), shall yet revive again. I am confident, I say,
 “ that cause for which so much blood hath been shed, will
 “ have another resurrection, and that you will have a blessed
 “ fruit of those many thousands that have been killed in
 “ the late war. I would say to all good men, rather to suffer
 “ than take any indirect means to deliver themselves;
 “ and God, when it shall make most for his own glory and
 “ the good of his people, will deliver, and that in such a way
 “ that himself shall have glory in, and the gospel have no
 “ reproach by.”

of putting a snare and stumbling-block before others that had not soe, and she would expostulate with him, why he should make himselfe a martyr for people that had bene so censorious of him, and so unthankfull and unsensible of all his meritts; he would say, he did it not for them, but for the cause they own'd. When many ill usages of himselfe by godly people have bene urg'd to him, he would say, that if they were truly the people of God, all their failings were to be borne; that if God had a people in the land, as he was confident he had, it was among them, and not among the cavaliers, and therefore although he should ever be severe against their miscarriages in any person in whomsoever he found them, yett he would adhere to them that own'd God, how unkindly soever they dealt with him. Sometimes he would say, that if ever he should live to see the parliament power up againe, he would never meddle any more either in coun-cells or armies: and then sometimes againe, when he saw or heard of any of the debosheries of the times, he would say, he would act only as a iustice of the peace in the country, and be severe against drunkards, and suffer none in his neighbourhood. Oftentimes he would say, if ever he were at liberty in the world, he would flee the conversation of the cavaliers, and would write upon his doores,

Procul hinc, procul este, profani!

and that, though he had in his former conversation with them, never had any communication with their manners nor vices, yet henceforth he would never, in one kind or other, have any commerce at all with them; and indeed it was a resolution he would oftener repeate than any other he had, telling us, that he was convinc'd there was a serpentine seed in them. Yett he had many apprehensions of the rash hot-headed spiritts of many of our party, and feares that their pride and selfe-conceit of their owne abilities, would againe bring us to confusion, if ever they should have the reines againe in their hands; and therefore he would bid us advise his sonne, if ever we liv'd to see a change, and would himsele advise him not to fall in with the first, how faire soever their pretences were; but to waite to see how their practises suited them: for he would say, that a hot-spiritted people would first get up and put all into confusion, and then a sober party must settle things; and he would say, let my sonne stay to fall in with these. He foresaw that the courses that the king and his party tooke to establish themselves would be their ruine, and would say, that whenever the king had an armie it would be his destruction.* Once when his

* Is it permissible to extend this prediction to the time when James the Second mustered his army near Salisbury, and in their almost general defection received his irrevocable doom? If it is, it will appear a very signal instance of foresight. The king then reigning, Charles II. never made but one, and that a very short-lived attempt to raise an army, which was speedily disbanded.

wife was lamenting his condition, having sayd many things to comfort her, he told her he could not have bene without this affliction; for if he had flourish'd while all the people of God were corrected, he should have fear'd he had not bene accounted among his children, as he had not shared their lott. Then would he with thankfulness repeate the kind and gentle dealings of the Lord att all times toward him, and erect a firme and mighty hope upon it, and wonderfully encourage her to beare it patiently, not only by words, but by his owne admirable example.

After Mr. Hutchinson had bene some time prisoner at Sandowne, the governor of the castle came over, and would faine have lett him his chamber for 20s. a week, which Mr. Hutchinson told him he would give him, if his wife might come there to him; but the governor refus'd that without an express order, which was endeavour'd but could not be obtain'd. Then Freeman demanded a marke a weeke of the collonell for fees, but the collonell told him, except he could shew how it was due by any known law, he would not pay it. Sometime after the governor of Dover came over, with the governor of Sandowne and one Mr. Masters, and Freeman consulting his master of Dover how he should gett mony of the collonell, the governor of Dover adviz'd to putt him into a dungeon, but the fellow durst not attempt it. Yet some time after he came to the castle, and passing into his

owne chamber, through Mr. Hutchinson's, who was there, as he went by with his lieftenant Moyle at his heeles, he call'd out to Mr. Hutchinson's man, and bad him bid Hutchinson come to him, without any addition of so much as the title of a gentleman. Mrs. Hutchinson being then in the roome with her husband, desir'd him she might goe in with him and answer the captaine's insolency, and that he would take no notice of it, which he told her he would not, neither should she, and soe they went into the captaine's chamber, who had alsoe call'd Gregory. When they were both there, the captaine turning to Moyle sayd, "Captaine Moyle, I ordeine you to quarter Hutchinson and Gregorie together in the next roome, and if Hutchinson will make a partition at his owne charge, he may have that part of the chamber that has the chimney, and for this expect a marke a weeke of Hutchinson, and a noble of Gregory; and if they will have any enlargement besides, they must pay for it." * Mr. Hutchinson laught at him, and bad his wife report his usage of him to the secretary at London, to whom she

* In speaking of the persons who had the command of the castle, and custody of the prisoners, there seems in some parts of the narrative to be a little perplexity; but this passage shews clearly that Freeman was captain, but did not reside at it; and that Moyle was his lieftenant, and did reside at it. The former was the person who, on this and some other occasions, attempted to extort money from Col. Hutchinson and his family; the latter was the person whose wife boarded and accommodated them.

presently writt an account of it, and sent it to Sr. Allen Apsley, desiring him either to procure a remoove, or an order for better accommodation, and shew'd this letter to Gregory before it went, representing equally his condition with her husband's : and seeing she could not get admission into the castle, she tooke a house in the towne, to which she intended to bring her children for the winter, had not God prevented.

Not * long after, the collonell's brother, Mr. George Hutchinson, came downe, and brought with him an order, sign'd by Secretary Bennet, for to allow the collonell leave to walke by the sea-

* We now hasten to the conclusion of our tragedy, and accordingly here are all the principal characters in their proper places and attitudes : our hero suffering with fortitude, calmness, and dignity ; the kind-hearted brother, the idolizing devoted wife, the observant son and daughter soothing him with their assiduities, and the constant friend procuring and sending alleviations. Evils so endured, so consoled, almost begin to partake of the nature of enjoyments ; but even this state of things will prove very transient, and like the last gleams of departing day, and we must speedily descend into the vale of tears ; those who solicited this exile as a mitigation of oppression, and this licence of walking on the shore as a relief, little knew or thought of the effect the situation on this low shore would have on the constitution of a person brought tenderly up, and having lived all his time in the centre of the kingdom ; or that walks by the seaside, in the decline of the day and of the year, added considerably to the danger. Those who are acquainted with these parts are well aware of it, and probably so were those who granted both.

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

Trust not the fraudulent present of a foe.

side with a keeper, which order Sr. Allen Apsley and his lady had at length procur'd with some difficulty and sent him; wherein he was so well satisfied, that he thought not his prison now insupportable; neither indeed was it so to him before, for his patience and faith wonderfully carried him on under all his sufferings. As it now drew nigh to the latter end of the year, Mrs. Hutchinson, having prepar'd the house, was necessitated to goe to Owthorpe to fetch her children, and other supplies to her husband; whom, when the time of her departure came, she left with a very sad and ill-presaging heart, rather dreading that while he lay so ready on the sea-coast, he might some time or other be shipt away to some barbarous place in her absence then that which after ensued. The collonell comforted all he could, and that morning she went away, "Now," sayd he, "I myselfe begin to be loath to part with thee." But yet, according to his usual chearefullnesse, he encourag'd himselfe, and her, and sent his sonne along with her. His daughter and his brother stay'd at Deale; who comming to him every day, he walk'd out with them by the seaside, and would discourse of the publique concernments, and say that the ill management of the state would cause discontented wild parties to mutinie and rise against the present powers, but they would only put things in confusion; it must be a sober partie that must then arise and settle them. He would often say to his sonne and his

wife, as he did now to his brother, " Let not my
 " sonne, how fairely soever they pretend, too
 " rashly engage with the first, but stay to see
 " what they make good, and engage with those
 " who are for settlement, who will have need of
 " men of interest to assist them ; let him keep
 " cleare and take heed of too rash attempts, and
 " he will be courted if he behave himselfe piously
 " and prudently, and keepe free of all faction,
 " making the publique interest only his." He
 would sometimes in discourse say, that when
 these people once had an armie up, which they
 seem'd to ayme att, that armie would be their
 destruction, for he was very confident God would
 bring them downe : he would often say they
 could not stand, and that whoever had anie thing
 to doe with them could not prosper. He once
 made this expression, " Although," sayd he, " I
 " am free from any trucking with them, yet even
 " that consenting submission that I had, hath
 " brought this suffering upon me." And he
 would often say he would never have so much as
 a civill correspondence with any of them againe :
 yet when he mention'd Sr. Allen Apsley, he
 would say, he would never serve any that would
 not for his sake serve the person that had pre-
 serv'd him. When his wife went away he was
 exceeding well and chearefull, and so confident
 of seeing Owthorpe, that he gave her directions
 in a paper for planting trees, and many other
 things belonging to the house and gardens. " You

“ give me,” sayd she, “ these orders, as if you
 “ were to see that place again.” “ If I doe not,”
 sayd he, “ I thanke God I can chearefully fore-
 “ goe it, but I will not distrust that God will
 “ bring me back againe, and therefore I will
 “ take care to keepe it while I have it.”

The third of September, being Saturday, he
 had bene walking by the seaside, and comming
 home found himselfe aguish, with a kind of shiver-
 ing and payne in his bones, and went to bed, and
 sweat exceedingly; the next day was a little bet-
 ter, and went downe, and on the Monday ex-
 pecting another fitt, which came upon him, lay
 in bed all day, and rose againe the next day,
 but went not downe, and after that he slept no
 more 'till his last sleepe came upon him, but con-
 tinued in a feaverish distemper, with violent sweat-
 ings, after which he us'd to rise out of his bed
 to refresh him, and when he was up us'd to read
 much in his Bible. He had appoynted his wife,
 when she went away, to send him the Dutch An-
 notations on the Bible, and she had sent it downe
 with some other things; which he presently
 caus'd to be brought him, though he was in his
 bed, and some places in the Epistle to the Ro-
 mans read, which having heard, “ these annota-
 “ tors,” sayd he, “ are short;” and then looking
 over some notes upon that Epistle, which his
 wife had left in a booke she had gather'd from
 him; “ I have,” sayd he, “ discover'd much

" more of the mystery of truth in that Epistle,
 " and when my wife returns I will make her sett
 " it downe; for," sayd he, " I will no more
 " observe their crosse humors, but when her
 " children are neere, I will have her in my
 " chamber with me, and they shall not pluck
 " her out of my armes; and then, in the winter
 " nights, she shall collect severall observations I
 " have made on this Epistle since I came into pri-
 " son." The continuall study of the scriptures
 did infinitely ravish and refine his soule, and
 take it off from all lower exercise, and he con-
 tinued it in his sicknesse even to the last, de-
 siring his brother, when he was in bed and
 could not read himselfe, to reade it to him.
 He found himselfe every day grow weaker, yet
 was not exceeding sick, only he could not
 sleepe at all, day nor night. There was a coun-
 try phisitian at Deale, who had formerly be-
 long'd to the armie, and had some gifts, and
 used to exercise them among godly people in
 their meetings; but having been taken there
 once by the persecutors, and being married to a
 wicked unquiet woman, she and the love of the
 world had perverted him to forsake all religious
 meetings, yet the man continued civill and faire
 condition'd, and was much employ'd there-
 abouts. He being sent for to Mr. Hutchinson,
 found that on Friday his mouth grew very sore,
 whereupon he told Mr. George Hutchinson that
 he distrusted his owne skill in looking to it, and

apprehended some danger, and advis'd him to send for a very famous phisitian that was at Canterbury, which they did, and he came on Saturday. As he came allong he enquired of the messenger that fetcht him what kind of person the collonell was, and how he had liv'd and been accustom'd, and which chamber of the castle he was now lodg'd in? Which when the man had told him, he sayd his iourney would be to no purpose, for that chamber had kill'd him. Accordingly, when he came, he told the collonell's brother, on Saturday night, that he apprehended danger, and appoynted some remedies, and some applications to his temples, and a cordiale to procure rest, but it had no effect. There was a nurse watcht in his chamber, and she told them after his death, that she heard him pray in the night, with the deepest sighs that ever she heard. The next morning, before the doctor and his daughter, and brother and servants came to him, the gentlewoman of the castle came up and ask'd him how he did? He told her, incomparably well, and full of faith.

Sometime after, when the doctor came, he told his brother that the fever had seiz'd his head, and that he believ'd he would soone fall into ravings and die, and therefore wisht him, if he had anie-thing to say to him, to speake while he was in perfect sence. So Mr. George Hutchinson came to him, and told him he believ'd he could not

live, and therefore desir'd him if he had anie thing to do, to dispatch it, for he believ'd his end was approaching. The collonell, without the least deiection or amazement, replied, very composedly and chearefully, "The will of the Lord be done, I am ready for it." And then he told them that he did now confirme the will he writt in the Tower for his last will and testament, and all others to be voyd. The doctor, who had, when religion was in fashion, bene a pretender to it, came to him, and askt him if his peace was made with God; to which he replied, "I hope you do not think me so ill a Christian, to have bene thus long in prison, and have that to doe now!" The doctor asked him concerning the ground of his hope; to which he answer'd, "There's none but Christ, none but Christ, in whom I have unspeakable ioy, more then I can expresse; yet I should utter more, but that the sorenesse of my mouth makes it difficult for me to speake." Then they askt him where he would be buried? He told them, in his vault at Owthorpe; his brother told him it would be a long way to carrie him: he answer'd, "Let my wife order the manner of it as she will, only I would lie there." He left a kind of message to his wife, "Let her," sayd he, "as she is above other weomen, shew herselfe, in this occasion, a good Christian, and

“above the pitch of ordinary weomen.” * He commanded his daughter that was present to tell the rest, that he would have them all guided by her counsellors; and left with his brother the same message to his eldest sonne. “I would,” sayd he, “have spoken to my wife and sonne, “but it is not the will of God;” then as he was going to utter something, “here’s none but “friends;” his brother minded him the doctor was present; “O, I thanke you,” sayd he; and such was their amazement in their sorrow, that they did not think of speaking to the doctor to retire, but lost what he would have sayd, which I am confident was some advice to his sonne how to demeane himselfe in publick concerns. He lay all the day very sensible and very chearefull, to the admiration of both the doctors and of all that saw him; and as his daughter sate weeping by him, “Fie Bab,” sayd he, “doe “you mourne for me as for one without hope? “There is hope.” He desir’d his brother to remember him to Sr. Allen Apsley, and tell him that he hoped God would reward his labour of love to him. While he was thus speaking to them, his spiritts decay’d exceedingly fast,

* This is that command of her husband which Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of at the beginning of her narrative, where she says she has determined to employ her thoughts upon the preservation of his memory, not the fruitless bewailing of it.

and his pulse grew very low, and his head already was earth in the upper part; yett he rays'd himselfe in his bed, "And now," sayd he to the doctor, "I would faine know your reason why you fancy me dying; I feele nothing in my selfe, my head is well, my heart is well, and I have no paine nor sicknesse any where." The doctor seeing this, was amaz'd; "Sir," sayd he, "I would be glad to be deceiv'd;" and being at a stand, he told Mr. George Hutchinson he was surpriz'd, and knew not what to thinke, to see him so chearefull and undisturb'd, when his pulse was gone; which if it were not death, might be some strange working of the spleen, and therefore advis'd him to send away for Dr. Ridgely, which he would before have done, but that the doctor told him he fear'd it would be vaine, and that he would be dead before the doctor could come. While they were preparing to write, the collonell spoke only these two words; "'Tis as I would have it: 'tis where I would have it:" and spoke no more, for convulsions wrought his month, yet did his sence remaine perfect to his last breath; for when some named Mrs. Hutchinson, and sayd, "Alas, how will she be surpriz'd!" he fetcht a sigh, and within a little while departed; his countenance settling so amiably and cheerfull in death, that he lookt after he was dead as he us'd to do when best pleas'd in life. It was observable that the same hower, and the same day of the month, and

the same day of the weeke, that the wicked souldiers fetcht him out of his owne rest and quiet condition at home, eleven months before, the Lord of hosts sent his holy angels to fetch him out of their cruell hands up to his everlasting and blessed rest above; this being the Lord's-day, about seven o'clock at night, the eleventh day of September, 1664; that, the same day and hower, the eleventh of October, 1663.

The two doctors, though mere strangers to him, were so moov'd, that they both wept as if it had bene their brother; and he of Canterbury sayd, he had bene with many eminent persons, but he never in his whole life saw any one receive death with more Christian courage, and constancy of mind, and stedfastnesse of faith, then the collonell had exprest from the first to the last; so that, considering the heiggt of his feaver, and his want of rest, there was an evidence of a devine assistance that overrul'd all the powers and operations of nature. This doctor, who was call'd Dr. Jachin, had most curiously and strictly observ'd all his motions, I know not by what impulse, but he after sayd, in regard of the collonell's former engagements, he knew he should be examin'd of all circumstances, and therefore was resolv'd dilligently to observe them; and as he guess'd, it after fell out, for the gentlemen of the country, being of the royall partie, were busie in their enquiries, which the doctor an-

swer'd with such truth and clearnesse as made them ready to burst with envie at the peace and ioy the Lord was pleas'd to give his servant, in taking him out of this wicked world. I am apt to thinke that it was not alone tendernesse of nature, but conviction of their owne disturbed peace, which drew those teares from the doctors, when they saw in him that blessed peace and ioy which crownes the Lord's constant martirs; whatever it were, the men were faithfull in divulging the glory of the Lord's wonderfull presence with his servant.

Assoone as the collonell was dead, his brother sent away a messenger to carry the sad newes to his house, and caus'd his body to be embalm'd in order to his funerall, as he had thrice order'd. When he was embowell'd all his inwards were found exceeding sound, and no taint in any part, only two or three purple spotts on his lungs: his gall, the doctor sayd, was the largest that ever he saw in any man, and observ'd it to be a miracle of grace that he had bene so patient as he had seene him.

Some two or three dayes before the collonell fell sick, Freeman, the captaine of the castle, had sent downe a very strict order that the collonell should carrie nothing out of the castle: in pursuance of which the souldiers would not suffer them to take out his beds and furniture, and clothes, which Mr. Hutchinson forbore till an order came for them.

Assóone ás the newes came to Owthorpe, the collonell's two eldest sonnes and all his household servants went up to London with his horses, and made ready a herse, trickt with scutcheons and six horses in mourning, with a mourning coach and six horses to waite on it, and came downe to Deale with an order from the secretary for the body; but when they came thither, the Captaine Freeman, in spite, would not deliver it, because Mrs. Hutchinson herselfe was not come to fetch it; so they were forct, at an intollerable expence, to keepe all this equipage at Deale while they sent to the secretary for another order, which they gott directed to the lieftenant in the absence of the captaine, and assoone as it came deliver'd it to him, who immediately suffer'd them to take away the body, which they did at that hower, though it was night, fearing a further dispute with Freeman. For he, after the body had bene ten dayes embalm'd, sayd he would have a iury empannell'd, and a coroner to sitt upon it, to see whether he died a naturall death. Mr. Hutchinson ask'd him why he urg'd that, when it lay on their side to have sought satisfaction. He sayd he must doe it to cleare the king's garrison. Mr. Hutchinson told him he had slipt his time; it should have bene done at the first, before the embalming. He say'd he would have it unlapt, and accordingly he sent for a coroner and a iury, who when they came would not unlapt the body, but call'd those per-

sons that were about him, and examin'd them as to the occasion of his death. They made affidavit, which remains yet upon record, that the doctor sayd *the place had kill'd him*, and satisfied with this, they did not unlap the body. As it came into Deale, Freeman mett it, and sayd, if he had bene in the castle they should not have had it till they had pay'd the mony he demanded; which when he could not iustifie any right to by any law, he fell to begg most basely and unworthily, but neither had aniething given him for that. However though the secretary had alsoe order'd the collonell should have his things out, yet he detein'd all he found in the castle, his trunks, and beds, and furniture, which could never be gotten out of his hands. Although this spite of his put the collonell's famely to an excessive charge in staying so long in that cut-throat towne of Deale, yet there was a providence of the Lord in it; for the collonell's daughter that was there, through grief had contracted a violent sicknesse, which tooke her with greate extremity, and wrought of her stomach in black vomitts, that made her for the present desperately ill, and the doctor that was with her sayd that if she had bene then in her journey, as she would have bene, had they not bene delay'd by his cruell spite, she could not have liv'd.

The next day after they had gotten out the body, they brought it with a handsome private

equipage to Canterbury, and so forward towards London, meeting no affronts in their way but at one towne, where there was a faire, and the priest of the place came out with his clearke in his foole's coat, to offer them buriall, and, to stop their herse, layd hold on the horses, whom when the attendants putt by, the wicked rout at the faire took part with them, and sett upon the horsemen; but they broke severall of their heads, and made their way cleare, having beaten of all the towne and the faire, and came on to London. They past through Southwarke, over the bridge, and through the whole heart of the citie, to their lodging in Holborne, in the day time, and had not one reviling word or indignity offer'd them all the way, but severall people were very much moov'd at that sad witnesse of the murderous cruelty of the men then in power.

From London he was brought downe to Owthorpe, very seriously bewailed all the way he came allong by all those who had bene better acquainted with his worth then the strangers among whom he died, and was brought home with honor to his grave through the dominions of his murtherers, who were ashamed of his glories, which all their tirannies could not extinguish with his life.

Inscriptions on the Monument of Colonel Hutchinson,

AT OWTHORPE, IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

(Supposed by Mrs. HUTCHINSON.)

Quosque Domine!

In a vault under this wall lieth the body of

JOHN HUTCHINSON,

Of Owthorpe, in the county of Nottingham, Esq.

Eldest sonne and heire of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson by his
first wife, the Lady Margaret, daughter of Sr. John
Biron, of Newsted, in the sayd county.

This monument doth not commemorate
Vaine ayrie glorious titles, birth, and state;
But sacred is to free, illustrious grace,
Conducting happily a mortal's race;
To end in triumph over death and hell,
When, like the prophet's cloake, the fraile flesh fell,
Forsaken as a dull impediment,
Whilst love's swift fiery chariot climb'd th' ascent.
Nor are the reliques lost, but only torn,
To be new made, and in more lustre worn.
Full of this ioy he mounted, he lay downe,
Threw off his ashes, and tooke up his crowne.

Those who lost all their splendor in his grave,
Ev'n there yet no inglorious period have.

He married Lucy, the daughter of Sr. Allen Apsley, lieftenant of the Tower of London, by his third wife, the Lady Lucy, daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiard Tregos, in the county of Wilts, who dying at Owthorpe, October 11, 1659, lieth buried in the same vault.

He left surviving by the sayd Lucy 4 sons; Thomas, who married Jane, the daughter of Sr. Alexander Radcliffe, buried in the same vault: and Edward, Lucius, and John: and 4 daughters; Barbara, Lucy, Margaret, and Adeliza; which last lies buried in the same vault.

He died at Sandowne castle, in Kent, after 11 months harsh and strict imprisonment, — without crime or accusation, — upon the 11th day of Sept. 1664, in the 49th yeare of his age, full of ioy, in assured hope of a glorious resurrection.

VERSES

WRITTEN BY MRS. HUTCHINSON,

In the small Book containing her own Life, and most probably composed by her during her Husband's retirement from public business to his Seat at Outhorpe.

ALL sorts of men through various labours presse
 To the same end, contented quietnesse;
 Great princes vex their labouring thoughts to be
 Possest of an unbounded soveraigntie;
 The hardy souldier doth all toyles susteine
 That he may conquer first, and after raigne;
 Th' industrious merchant ploughs the angrie seas
 That he may bring home wealth, and live at ease,
 Which none of them attaine; for sweete repose
 But seldome to the splendid pallace goes;
 A troope of restlesse passions wander there,
 And private lives are only free from care.
 Sleep to the cottage bringeth happy nights,
 But to the court, hung round with flaring lights,
 Which th' office of the vanisht day supplie,
 His image only comes to close the eie,
 But gives the troubled mind no ease of care;
 While countrie slumbers undisturbed are;
 Where if the active fancie dreames present,
 They bring no horrors to the innocent.
 Ambition doth incessantly aspire,
 And each advance leads on to new desire;

Nor yet can riches at rice satisfie,
 For want and wealth together multiplie :
 Nor can voluptuous men more fullnesse find,
 For enioy'd pleasures leave their stings behind,
 He's only rich who knows no want ; he raignes
 Whose will no severe tyranny constraens ;
 And he alone possessest true delight
 Whose spotlesse soule no guiltie feares affright.
 This freedome in the countrie life is found,
 Where innocence and safe delights abound :
 Here man's a prince ; his subjects ne'er repine
 When on his back their wealthy fleeces shine.
 If for his appetite the fattest die,
 Those who survive will rayse no mutinie :
 His table is with home-gott dainties crown'd,
 With friends, not flatterers, encompass round ;
 No spies nor traitors on his trencher waite,
 Nor is his mirth confin'd to rules of state ;
 An armed guard he neither hath nor needs,
 Nor fears a poyson'd morsell when he feeds ;
 Bright constellations hang above his head,
 Beneath his feet are flourie carpetts spred ;
 The merrie birds delight him with their songs,
 And healthfull ayre his happie life prolongs.
 Att harvest merrily his flocks he sheares,
 And in cold weather their warm fleeces weares ;
 Unto his ease he fashions all his clothes ;
 His cup with uninfected liquor flows :
 The vulgar breath doth not his thoughts elate,
 Nor can he be o'erwhelmed by their hate ;
 Yet, if ambitiously he seeks for fame,
 One village feast shall gaine a greater name
 Then his who weares th' imperiall diadem,
 Whom the rude multitude doe still condemne.
 Sweet peace and loy his blest companions are ;
 Feare, sorrow, envie, lust, revenge, and care,

And all that troope which breeds the world's offence,
With pomp and maiestie, are banisht thence.
What court then can such libertie afford?
Or where is man so uncontroul'd a lord?

THE END.

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